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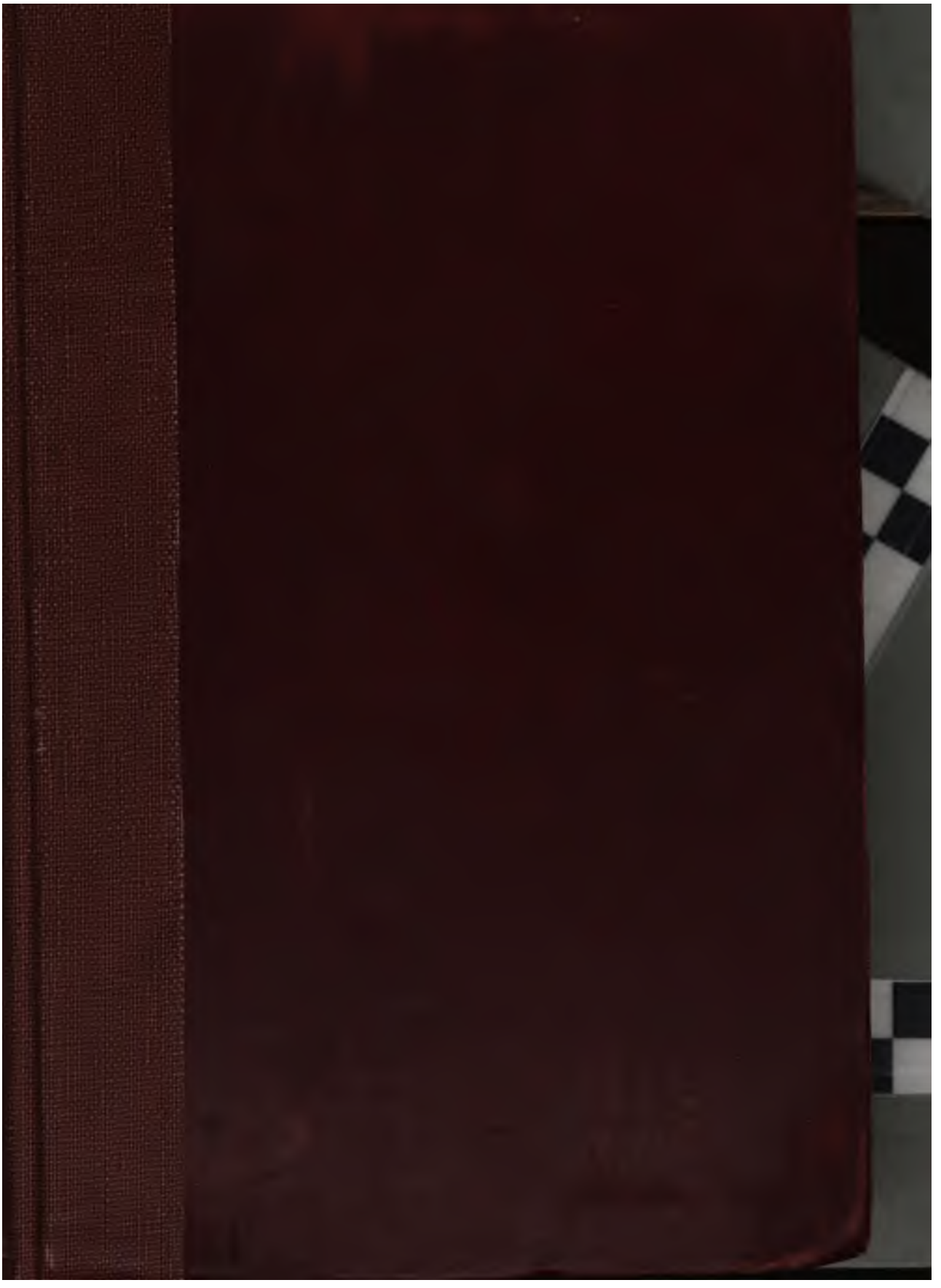

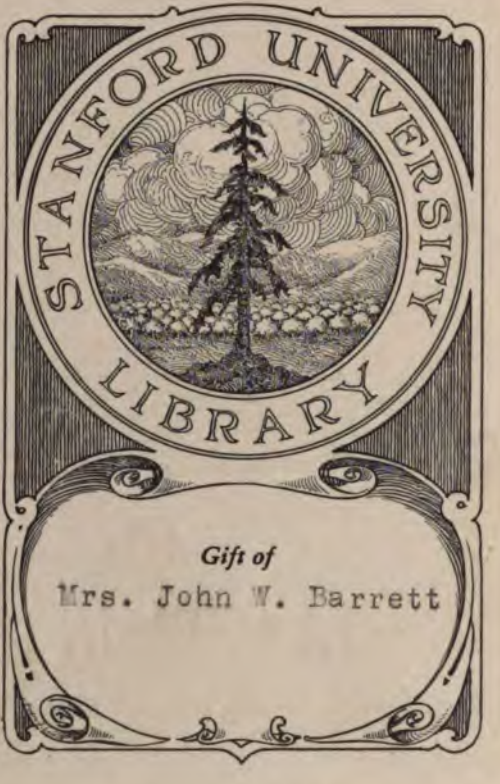


*Gift of*
Mrs. John W. Barrett

To
Mr. John Barrett.

With the author's sincere regards.

Allegra Ireland.

Lotos Club.
New York.
1900.

# TROPICAL COLONIZATION

The MMC Co.

# TROPICAL COLONIZATION

*AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE SUBJECT*

BY

ALLEYNE IRELAND

AUTHOR OF "DEMERARIANA: ESSAYS, HISTORICAL, CRITICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE"

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# PREFACE

A FEW words of explanation are required in regard to this little volume. During the past twelve years most of my time has been spent in the British Colonies and Dependencies. I visited India, Ceylon, Australia, and spent nearly seven years in the West Indies and South America.

Shortly after I arrived in the United States war was declared against Spain, with results which are within the knowledge of every one. The annexation of Hawaii and the cession of Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands have placed the United States under the necessity of undertaking the government of tropical dependencies, — a serious task for a country which has never held a dependency, using the term in its strict sense, and has never faced the problem of administration in the tropics.

The American people have never been interested in tropical colonization, because they have never had any reason to be interested in it; and consequently, apart from the magazine and news-

paper articles which have appeared during the past year, the greater number of which have shown a grotesque ignorance of the subject, no American literature of tropical colonization exists, unless one so regards a few works, such as Professor Worcester's admirable book on the Philippines, which deal with a single point in the tropics and with a single set of phenomena.

If we turn to the English libraries, we find an immense number of books relating to every part of the tropics; but although there are excellent histories of India, of Ceylon, of Barbados, of Jamaica, and so forth, there does not exist, as far as I am aware, a single volume in the English language which, from the sum of European experience in the tropics, seeks to lay down the general facts of tropical colonization, or which attempts to discuss tropical problems as divorced from the affairs of any particular colony or dependency. In the present volume such an attempt is made, and it is therefore proper that I should give the reader my reasons for treating the subject in just the manner I have adopted.

In the first place, then, it would have been a comparatively easy task, having at my hand the large amount of material which I have collected during the past twelve years, to have written sev-

eral bulky volumes on tropical colonization. I have refrained from inflicting such a book on the public for several reasons. First, as the American appetite for tropical colonization is a very new one, it appeared to me unwise to risk surfeiting it with heavy food. Secondly, the interest in the subject is not yet sufficiently strong to overcome the natural repugnance for a very big book on a very unfamiliar subject. Thirdly, after thinking over the subject of tropical colonization for a number of years, it has become clear to me that it is one well adapted to a division into its essential and its incidental features; the former, omitting, as far as possible, controversial matters, being capable of treatment in a comparatively short work.

The essential questions in regard to tropical colonization appear to me to be these:—

(1) How to govern a tropical colony.

(2) How to obtain the reliable labor absolutely necessary for the successful development of a tropical colony.

(3) What does the possession of tropical colonies amount to from the standpoint of the sovereign state?

The first chapter of this work may be considered as introductory; in the remaining six the questions which I have stated are examined.

I have been to no small extent encouraged during the writing of this volume by the interest which has been shown by the public in some short magazine articles of mine published during the past year. The first of these was "European Experience with Tropical Colonies," in the *Atlantic Monthly* for December, 1898. The second was "The Labor Problem in the Tropics," in Appleton's *Popular Science Monthly* for February, 1899. And the third was "The Growth of the British Colonial Conception," in the *Atlantic Monthly* for April, 1899.

Following the publication of each of these I received a number of inquiries from all over the country for further information; and several leading professors in the Universities have asked me if I could write a work on tropical colonization which could be used as a text-book. Conscious as I am of the many shortcomings of this little volume, I venture to hope that, in the absence of any work of a similar nature, it may prove of use to those who wish to make a study of tropical colonization.

I am indebted to Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin, and Company of Boston for their courteous permission to use in the first chapter of this volume (pp. 5–35) an article on "The Growth of the British Colo-

nial Conception" which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* for April, 1899.

ALLEYNE IRELAND.

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NEW YORK CITY.

The following is a list of the more important works, other than government publications, which I have consulted during the course of my work. Where I have quoted an author, and I have designedly availed myself to a considerable extent of the support of other students of my subject, I have made specific acknowledgment of my indebtedness in the text.


| | |
|---|---|
| J. R. SEELEY . . . . | The Expansion of England. |
| JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE | The English in the West Indies. |
| | Short Studies on Great Subjects. |
| C. P. LUCAS . . . . | Historical Geography of the British Colonies (5 vols.) |
| SIR GEORGE C. LEWIS . | On the Government of Dependencies. |
| A. BILLARD . . . . . | Politique et Organisation Coloniales (Principes Généraux). |
| JULES LECLERQ . . . | Un Séjour dans l'Ile de Java. |
| SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES | History of Java. |
| A. R. WALLACE . . . | The Malay Archipelago. |
| J. W. B. MONEY . . . | Java, or, How to manage a Colony. |
| HENRY SCOTT BOYS . . | Some Notes on Java and its Administration by the Dutch. |
| J. L. DE LANESSAN . . | L'Expansion Coloniale de la France. |
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| A. H. L. Heeren . . | A Manual of the History of the Political System of Europe and its Colonies. |
| Karl Braun . . . . | Die Kolonizations-Bestrebungen der modernen europäischen Völker und Staaten. |
| R. Stegemann . . . . | Deutschlands Koloniale Politik. |
| H. E. Egerton . . . | A Short History of British Colonial Policy. |
| James Rodway . . . | The West Indies and the Spanish Main. History of British Guiana. |
| Bryan Edwards . . . | The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies. |
| Paul Leroy-Beaulieu . | Colonisation chez les Peuples Modernes. |

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Diagram 5, facing page 102, relates to Imports of United Kingdom from the United States, 1859 to 1898.

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Diagram 7, facing page 116, relates to the value and origin of the Imports and to the value and direction of the Exports of France, 1877 to 1896.

Diagram 8, facing page 123, relates to the trade of Jamaica with England and France respectively, 1878 to 1897.

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# TROPICAL COLONIZATION

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTORY

THE word "colony" has been employed in a different sense by different writers. Originally the term was applied to any band of persons of common nationality who left their country and settled in a new territory where they constituted themselves a distinct political community. It was not necessary that the emigrants should continue to yield their allegiance to the government of the country from whence they came; the idea involved merely the emigration of some members (not the whole) of the home population to a land in which they maintained themselves as a separate community, either in the absence of other inhabitants, or by the forcible retention of such portions of the country as they required.

Sir George Cornewall Lewis in his work "On

the Government of Dependencies," says: "If an entire political community changes its country for a time and moves elsewhere, it does not found a colony: thus a roving tribe of Scythians or Tartars does not found a colony when it settles in the temporary occupation of a new district. So the Athenians, during the Persian invasion of Attica, when they embarked in their ships and took refuge in Salamis, were not a colony. Nor would they have been a colony, even if they had permanently changed their place of abode; for when an entire nation changes its seats, and establishes itself permanently in another country (as the Franks in France, the Lombards in Italy, or the Vandals in Africa), it is not said to found a colony. . . . Unless persons who abandon their native country form a separate political community, they are not colonists. For example, the French Protestants who fled from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and took refuge in Germany and England, did not constitute colonies in those countries. The small body of English Puritans, who first sought in Holland an asylum against religious persecution, did not form a colony until they afterward established themselves in New England as a distinct community."

The idea of a colony was more correctly expressed by the Greek word ἀποικίαι than by the Latin "colonia" from which the term "colony" is derived. Adam Smith, in his "Wealth of Nations," says: "The Latin word signifies simply a plantation. The Greek word, on the contrary, signifies a separation of dwelling, a departure from home, a going out of the house."

If the original meaning of the word be adopted, the United States may still be correctly called a colony of Great Britain. But writers during the past two centuries have generally used the word "colony" not as applying to the people of the mother country, but to the land to which they emigrated, and have added the idea of dependence — a colony is, in fact, to be considered a territory situated at some distance from the sovereign state but subject to the sovereign authority.

Sir George Lewis, in the work from which I have just quoted, insists on a distinction being drawn between a colony and a dependency; the former term to apply to those outlying parts of an empire in which the people of the home stock form the bulk of the proprietors and cultivators of the soil, and the latter to apply to those parts of an empire where the natives of the sovereign

state reside merely for the purposes of government or trade.

Colonial conditions are such to-day as to make it difficult, if not impossible, to follow Sir George Lewis's classification. It would be impossible, for instance, to divide the British West Indian Possessions into two distinct classes — colonies and dependencies. Barbados might be called a colony, and Jamaica a dependency, for in the former island the white population forms about twelve per cent of the whole and owns more than ninety per cent of the soil, whilst in the latter the whites constitute but a little over two per cent of the whole, and more than seventy thousand small agricultural holdings are in the hands of black and colored peasant-proprietors. But the line of demarkation in the other West Indian Possessions of England is not so clear, and the position is further complicated in the case of Trinidad and British Guiana (which is generally referred to as a West Indian colony, although it is on the mainland of South America) by the presence of thousands of immigrants from the Indian Empire.

In the present work, therefore, I do not use the word "colony" in any strict sense, as distinct from the word "dependency," but give it the wide

meaning of "any outlying portion of an empire which, in a greater or less degree, falls under the authority of the central power."[1]

I wish now to trace very briefly the growth of the British colonial conception.

Professor Seeley has pointed out, in his work on "The Expansion of England," the prevailing tendency to look upon those conditions which we observe around us as having always existed, and to consider them part of a permanent and necessary order of things. This is strikingly true of the sentiment regarding colonization. It is difficult to find in the mass of colonial discussion which has appeared during the past year in the United States any indication that the writers have realized how new a thing is the present conception of the relationship between a sovereign state and its colonies. In England, whose vast colonial empire affords the best field for the study of colonization, the prevailing conception of the value of colonies and of the mutual responsibilities of the mother country and its dependencies represents a third stage in the evolution of a great national idea.

[1] The British Indian Empire, which falls within this definition, is not, however, treated as a colony in this work, except in the chapter relating to Trade and the Flag.

The first stage is perfectly well defined, both as to the period of its duration and as to the nature of the public sentiment which found its expression in the national policy. It began with the acquisition of colonies by England at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and closed with the revolt of the American colonies at the end of the eighteenth century. The term "the old colonial system" is very generally used to label the policy which marked this period. The old colonial system may be said to have assumed definite shape under the Commonwealth, and the Navigation Act of 1651 is the first of that long series of oppressive restrictions which unwise statesmen placed on the trade of the colonies. These commercial restrictions fell under five different heads; restrictions on the exportation of produce from the colony, on the importation of goods into the colony, on the carrying trade to and from the colonies, on the manufacture of colonial produce in the colonies, and on the importation into England from foreign countries or colonies of those commodities which the British colonies produced. Under four of these restrictions the colonies suffered, under one of them the mother country. As Professor Merivale has put it: "States have feared to encourage their

colonists to seek their independence, or to range themselves under the banner of hostile nations. Hence, as the producers of the mother country have never been willing to let go their own monopoly, it has been found necessary to make to the colonists a compensation at the expense of the consumers." It will be shown later that the concessions were made not so much with the intention of keeping the colonies to their allegiance as with a view to retain their friendship in the event of their becoming independent. In a word, the general sentiment in regard to colonies, during the period of the old colonial system, was, that they existed merely for the benefit of the sovereign state; that they were a national asset which should be made to yield as much profit as possible to the mother country.

The old colonial system worked well enough for a time, and might have continued to do so for a much longer period in those colonies where the white population was numerically insignificant; but the revolt of the American colonies struck the death knell of the system, and taught Englishmen a lesson which slowly, but surely, carried the nation into the second stage of the colonial idea. The development of the colonial idea during the second stage was spasmodic.

Free trade and parliamentary reform became vital political issues at home, and in the excitement attending these changes in the national policy colonial affairs ceased to attract attention. The deluge of petitions and reports which poured into the House of Commons during the period immediately preceding and following the abolition of slavery in 1838 served, it is true, to keep the colonies before the government; but the people at large were too much occupied with their home concerns to give much attention to the affairs of outlying dependencies, which were destined, in the opinion of many, to achieve their independence at no distant date. The success of the revolt of the American colonies was a rude shock to the national pride; and although the war had been unpopular amongst the people, it is not surprising that in the general desire to avoid humiliation in the future public opinion should so easily have taken the line of looking on independence as the natural sequel to colonization, — the fact being overlooked that the fault lay not in the idea of extensive and far-distant dependencies, but in the assumption that such dependencies were to be governed entirely for the benefit of the sovereign state.

Successive governments in the early part of

the present century perceived that the colonial policy of England was destined to undergo important modifications, and we observe a curious conflict of ideas amongst those at the head of affairs, due, doubtless, to the feeling that the time had not yet come when, on the one hand, the colonies might be cast off, or, on the other hand, their rights to self-government under the Crown might be fully recognized. Thus, we find the Imperial government increasing its supervision over the internal life of the colonies in order to stifle any incipient attempt at revolt, and at the same time granting modifications of the commercial relations in favor of the colonists, and removing irksome taxes levied in the colonies for the exclusive benefit of the Crown. In 1838, for example, the Imperial Parliament repealed the act of 1663 imposing an export duty of four and a half per cent on all agricultural produce of Barbados and the Leeward Islands, to be paid "to our Sovereign Lord the King, his heirs and successors forever," and in 1839 passed the West India Prisons Act, which transferred the control of the jails in the West Indies from the local to the Imperial authorities.

In the meanwhile, public opinion was slowly moving in the direction of giving up the colonies.

In 1776 Adam Smith had written: "After all the unjust attempts of every country in Europe to engross to itself the advantages of the trade of its own colonies, no country has yet been able to engross to itself anything but the expense of supporting in time of peace, and defending in time of war, the oppressive authority which it assumes over them. The inconveniences resulting from the possession of its colonies every country has engrossed to itself completely." These words were remembered after the War of American Independence; and the Canadian rebellion of 1837 served to foster still further the idea of separation. The revolt of the Spanish-American colonies, with the consequent collapse of the Spanish colonial empire, lent additional force to the arguments of those who saw in the American War of Independence the first act of a tragedy which was to end in the death of England's larger nationality. In fact, we find, during the first eighty years of the nineteenth century, a considerable body of sentiment in England in favor of casting off the colonies. It is true that this sentiment was not as clearly discernible during some years as during others, but at no time did it die out, and it was probably as strong in 1886 as in 1786. I wish to make this point clear, — that the second stage

in the development of the colonial idea in England, the period during which it was uncertain whether the historians of the nineteenth century would have to describe a Great Britain or a Greater Britain, comes down to within fifteen years of the present time; and in order to do so, I quote from various writings and speeches which were published prior to 1887.

Lord Durham, in his report on the condition and prospects of Canada, which was laid before Parliament in 1839, finds it necessary to say, "I cannot participate in the notion that it is the part either of prudence or of honor to abandon our countrymen."

Eleven years later, we find that the ideas from which Lord Durham expressed his dissent were still held by a number of men in public life; for Lord John Russell, speaking in the House of Commons on February 8, 1850, said: "I come now to a question which has been much agitated, and which has found supporters of very considerable ability, namely, that we should no longer think it worth our while to maintain our colonial empire." And even he could not foresee a Greater Britain, for he said in the same speech: "I do anticipate with others that some of the colonies may so grow in population and wealth that they may say, 'Our

strength is sufficient to enable us to be independent of England.' . . . I do not think that that time is yet approaching."

Commenting on the speech I have just quoted, the London *Times*, in its issue of February 11, 1850, said: "On the most delicate part of the question [the future colonial policy of England] Lord John Russell has spoken as plainly as we could desire. He does not shrink from contemplating the eventual independence of our colonies, and proposes to prepare them for it by free institutions. For our own part, we think it the merest prudery to blink that inevitable event."

Twenty years later, James Anthony Froude raised his voice against the colonial policy of the first administration of Mr. Gladstone. "It is even argued," he said, in an article in *Fraser's Magazine* for January, 1870, "that our colonies are a burden to us, and that the sooner they are cut adrift from us the better. They are, or have been, demonstratively loyal. They are proud of their origin, conscious of the value to themselves of being part of a great empire, and willing and eager to find a home for every industrious family that we can spare. We answer impatiently that they are welcome to our people, if our people choose to go to them; but whether they go to

them or to America, whether the colonies themselves remain under our flag or proclaim their independence or attach themselves to some other power, is a matter which concerns themselves entirely, and to us of profound indifference." Again, writing in *Fraser's Magazine* for August, 1870, Mr. Froude expressed his fear that the government contemplated an early dismemberment of the empire. "But whereas there are two possible colonial policies," he said, "one to regard them [the colonies] as integral parts of the empire, . . . the other to concentrate ourselves in these islands, to educate the colonies in self-dependence, that at the earliest moment they may themselves sever the links which bind them to us, — of these two policies, it is believed that the government deliberately prefer the second, and nothing that Lord Granville [Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs] or any other member of the Cabinet has said upon the subject leads us to suppose that the belief is unfounded. A few words would have sufficed to remove the uneasiness, but those words have not been spoken."

Between the years 1870 and 1890 many events occurred which had a profound effect on the colonial policy of the United Kingdom; and although I consider that the third stage in the

development of the colonial idea was not reached until 1897, there is abundant evidence that from about the year 1880 onward the separationist sentiment in England has been gradually losing ground. Let us glance for a moment at the changes which took place between 1870 and 1890, and endeavor to appreciate their bearing on colonial matters. First, then, in regard to trade and population. In 1870 the tonnage of steam vessels belonging to the British Empire was 1,203,000; in 1890 it had grown to 5,413,706. During the same period the trade between the United Kingdom and the British colonies increased from 6,044,028 tons to 10,467,563 tons, whilst the total trade between the United Kingdom and the whole world mounted from 36,640,182 tons to 74,283,869 tons. In 1870 Great Britain exported to its colonies merchandise to the value of $276,000,000 and imported from them colonial products worth $324,000,000; in 1890 the figures had risen to $472,000,000 and $480,000,000 respectively. This great development in trade tended to strengthen the bonds between Great Britain and her dependencies; but a more powerful influence was at work. During the twenty years which we now have under consideration more than 1,250,000 people emigrated from the British Isles to the British

colonies, with the result that communication between the mother country and the dependencies became more frequent, and the sum of knowledge about the colonies rapidly increased.

Before passing to the consideration of the political changes which took place in Europe after the Franco-Prussian war, and which powerfully affected the British colonial policy, it is important to note another movement of population from the British Isles, — the emigration to the United States. Mr. Froude pointed out, in the essays from which I have quoted, the indifference which appeared to exist in England at the time he wrote as to whether English emigrants went to British colonies or to foreign countries. He said: "During the last quarter of a century nearly four million British subjects — English, Irish, and Scots — have become citizens, more or less prosperous, of the United States of America. We have no present quarrel with the Americans; we trust most heartily that we may never be involved in any quarrel with them; but undoubtedly, from the day that they became independent of us, they became our rivals. . . . The United States have been made stronger, the English Empire weaker, to the extent of those millions and the children growing of them. . . . England at the same time possesses dependencies

of her own, not less extensive than the United States, not less rich in natural resources, not less able to provide for these expatriated swarms, where they would remain attached to her crown, where their well-being would be our well-being, their brains and arms our brains and arms, every acre which they could reclaim from the wilderness so much added to English soil, and themselves and their families fresh additions to our national stability."

Between 1870 and 1890 three million more British subjects passed over to the United States.

In the years following the close of the Franco-Prussian war a great change was observable in the colonial policy of the Continental Powers, and the African "scramble" of 1884 showed English statesmen that whilst they had been debating the question of throwing off the British colonies, Continental statesmen were staking the future greatness of their respective countries on a policy of colonial expansion. In the early eighties the French people became animated with the old colonial spirit which had made France great in the seventeenth century; which had produced such men as Colbert, Dupleix, and Coligny. The newspapers filled their columns with brilliant predictions for "la Plus Grande France," and in the

serious literature of the period we find the same urgent demand for a firm colonial policy. Thus, the eminent political economist Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, writing in 1882, protests against the mistaken policy of France in recent years. He urges Frenchmen to turn their attention to the development of the French colonies. "From now on," he says, "our colonial expansion must occupy the first place in our national consciousness. . . . We must found a great French Empire in Africa and in Asia; else of the great rôle which France has played in the past there will remain nothing but the memory, and that dying out as the days pass. . . . Colonization is a question of life or death for France. Either we must found an African Empire, or in a hundred years we shall have sunk to the level of a second-rate power." Louis Vignon, in his "L'Expansion de la France," writes in the same strain, and a score of other writers might be named who supported the views I have quoted. But it is not in France alone that we find colonial activity in the early eighties; Italy, Belgium, Portugal, and Germany were vigorously pushing forward their African schemes at that time, and were all represented at the Berlin Conference of 1884–85.

In order to show how the British colonial policy

was affected by the ambitions of the Continental Powers in the direction of colonization, it is only necessary to add to what I have said about France a few facts in regard to German expansion. Although German colonial expansion dates actually from 1884, the idea of a German colonial empire had existed twenty years earlier. The German explorer, Karl von der Decken, wrote from the Juba River in North-East Africa in 1864: "I am persuaded that in a short time a colony established here would be most successful, and after two or three years would be self-supporting. . . . It is unfortunate that we Germans allow such opportunities of acquiring colonies to slip, especially at a time when it would be of importance to the navy." Von der Decken also suggested that Germany should buy Mombasa from the Sultan. Nothing of importance was done, however, till after the Franco-Prussian war. Germany was then placed in a new position. Distrustful of Russia on the east, of France on the west; disturbed by the dismemberment of Poland, and uncertain as to the future of the Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich, Germany decided that in the founding of a powerful colonial empire alone lay safety. The idea became popular, and the publication in 1879 of the theologian

Fabri's "Bedarf Deutschland der Colonien?" acted as a powerful stimulant. Bismarck had long foreseen the time when Germany would enter the field of colonial enterprise, and had waited only for the development of public sentiment in that direction. His day had now come, and between 1884 and 1886 he was instrumental in founding the German colonies of Togo, the Cameroons, German South-West Africa, German East Africa, in the Old World; and Kaiser Wilhelm's Land, the Bismarck Archipelago, the Solomon Islands, and the Marshall Islands, in the New.

Let us return now to the development of the colonial idea in England. We have seen that as late as 1870 the question of a Greater Britain still hung in the balance, and I think it may be shown that it was not until 1887 that the first indications of the larger idea began to appear. The Colonial Conference was opened in London, on April 4, 1887, and at the first meeting Lord Salisbury made a speech, in which he said: "The desire for colonial and foreign possessions is increasing among the nations of Europe. The power of concentrating military and naval forces is increasing under the influence of scientific progress. Put all these things together, and you will see that the colonies have a very real and

genuine interest in the shield which their imperial connection throws over them, and that they have a ground for joining us in making the defences of the empire secure." These remarks are interesting, because we see a great English statesman speaking on a great national occasion to a body of men representing all parts of the British Empire, and taking the ground that the colonies are the parties who benefit under the imperial compact. There is no evidence in Lord Salisbury's speech that he foresaw the day when the tables would be turned, — when England would hold her high place amongst the nations because of, not in spite of, her colonies.

The London *Times*, however, talks no longer of the prudery of blinking inevitable events. The cry now is, "The real unity of the empire." In a leading article on the Colonial Conference, in the *Times* of April 4, 1887, we find: "Of all the events of the Jubilee year, none are likely to be more interesting and memorable than the approaching Conference. It is the expression of some of the best influences of Her Majesty's reign. It has in it the promise of great things to come. Her colonial subjects have been quick to appreciate the advantages of such a Conference, which touches the pride, raises the hopes,

and accords with the aspirations of every good citizen."

On April 21, 1887, the *Times*, in a leading article, expresses exactly the idea which I wish to make clear, "In these communities [the colonies], as we are all beginning to feel, there is a great reserve of strength for the mother country." Englishmen then were *beginning* to feel in 1887 that in the colonies lay the future greatness of England.

It is at this point that I see the birth of the great national idea which found such extraordinary expression in the occurrences surrounding the Queen's Diamond Jubilee in 1897. But for the sake of clearness I wish to trace its development a little more closely, and also that I may show how curiously various influences have combined to bring about the unification of the British Empire. From whatever standpoint we look at the United Kingdom we see at once that the conditions are much more favorable for the growth of a united public sentiment there than in the United States. Its area is considerably less than that of the state of California, whilst its population is more than half that of the whole of the United States. Taking fourteen states — New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Indiana,

Michigan, Texas, Missouri, Kansas, California, Iowa, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Virginia — for the sake of comparison, we find that their population in 1890 was about equal to that of the United Kingdom in 1891, but that it was spread over an area of 962,000 square miles, whilst that of the United Kingdom was compressed into 121,000. This circumstance in itself brings the people of the United Kingdom more closely into touch with one another. But the limited area of England produces another factor which powerfully affects public sentiment. There is no great diversity of interests between one part of the country and another, such as one observes in the United States, and thus the whole country responds more uniformly to any influence which may be brought to bear on it than can be the case in a nation whose shores are washed by the Pacific on one side and the Atlantic on the other, and whose territory extends from the Arctic Circle to the Tropic of Cancer. Owing to the centralization of the governing power the debates at Westminster play a much greater part in the formation of public sentiment than the debates at Washington; for in the one case the affairs of the several parts of the kingdom, as well as of the whole empire, are discussed, and in the

other there is a distinct line between national and state interests. In a small country, also, individual influence is more easily established than in a large country, and a speech by Lord Salisbury or Mr. Chamberlain may conceivably produce effects which could not be looked for by any speaker in the United States, whatever his ability and strength of character. It has frequently been remarked that in England after-dinner speeches are extremely popular with "the man in the street"; and it would be difficult, I think, to overestimate the influence which such utterances exert on the public mind. Finally, although the interest which Englishmen take in politics is probably less intense than that shown by Americans, it is of a different kind, and can be more easily utilized for national purposes than would be the case if party lines were more rigid than they are.

Of the hundreds of men in all parts of the British Empire who, in recent years, by their writings, speeches, and works, have educated the English people to a true realization of the value of the colonies, I would name here five who seem to me to stand in the front rank of those who have brought about this national awakening. They are Professor Sir J. R. Seeley, Mr. Joseph

Chamberlain, James Anthony Froude, Mr. Rudyard Kipling, and Mr. Cecil Rhodes.

Probably no single book has ever exerted a more powerful influence in the direction of the appreciation of English colonial enterprise than Professor Seeley's "Expansion of England." In this extraordinary work, the author succeeds in unravelling from the tangled skein of European history during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the thread of England's development. Other historians had failed to see any continuous movement in one direction, because they were confronted at one time with the spectacle of Protestant Europe in arms against Catholic Europe, at another time with that of the allied forces of a Catholic and a Protestant power at war with a Protestant nation; and because they found the questions of the Austrian Succession and the Spanish Succession large enough, when placed close to the eye, to hide the causes which lay beyond in the wars incident to these disputes. But Professor Seeley approached his subject in a new spirit, and threw a light on English history which enabled Englishmen to look back over the path which their ancestors had trod, and to perceive that among all its windings it tended ever in one general direction. Between 1688 and 1815 England

was engaged in seven wars.[1] It was drawn into the first of these when William of Orange, who as king of the Netherlands was at war with France and Spain, became William III. of England. This war was terminated by the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, and the Treaty of Rastadt in 1714. Through this war England obtained Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the Hudson's Bay Territory from France, and Gibraltar and Minorca from Spain, together with the right to supply the Spanish-American colonies with slaves, and the privilege of sending one ship a year to Portobello, on the Isthmus of Panama. The second war has been called the War of Jenkins's Ear. It arose through the pretentions of Spain to control the navigation of the West Indies and South America, and her claim to the right of search of all vessels in West Indian waters. War was declared against Spain in 1739, and in 1744 France, taking advantage of the situation, declared war against England. This war was terminated by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, by the terms of which England and France mutually restored all conquered territory. But although peace was declared in Europe, fighting still went on in other parts of the world. "The peace which had been con-

[1] Exclusive of the war of 1812.

cluded between England and France in 1748," wrote Lord Macaulay, "had been no more than an armistice, and had not even been an armistice in the other quarters of the globe." Thus, although the two nations were at peace, we find Colonel George Washington defeating De Jumonville in the valley of the Ohio, and Clive destroying French influence in India by the defence of Arcot and the battle of Plassey. Then followed the Seven Years' war, in which we see England and France fighting all over the world, nominally over the question of who should own Silesia, but with the great colonial issue in the background. The war ended in 1763 with the Treaty of Paris. It left France in a pitiable condition, — her commerce destroyed, her colonial power broken. The fifth war was with the American colonies in the beginning, but by the year 1778 France was again in the fight, joined later by Holland and Spain. Although this war resulted in the loss of the American colonies, England had little reason to complain of its effects elsewhere, when it is reflected that she was at war with practically the whole of Europe. The sixth and seventh wars were also with France. By the former England obtained Trinidad and Ceylon, by the latter Mauritius.

As far as I am aware, Professor Seeley was the first historian to point out the true significance of this continual struggle with France. He says: "The expansion of England in the New World and in Asia is the formula which sums up for England the history of the eighteenth century. I point out now that the great triple war of the middle of that century is neither more nor less than the great decisive duel between England and France for the possession of the New World. It was perhaps scarcely perceived at the time, as it has been seldom remarked since; but the explanation of that second Hundred Years' war between England and France which fills the eighteenth century is this, that they were rival candidates for the possession of the New World; and the triple war which fills the middle of the century is, as it were, the decisive campaign in that great world-struggle." But it is not only in this direction that Professor Seeley's book made the course of England's development clear to every reader; from the first page to the last, "The Expansion of England" is a convincing argument in favor of England's territorial expansion across the seas.

The quotations which I have made from the writings of James Anthony Froude render it un-

necessary to dilate at any length on the influence his books exerted on public sentiment in England. The publication, in 1887, of "The English in the West Indies" served to awaken a considerable interest in the islands, and resulted in the emigration from England of a number of young men who wished to try their fortunes in these forgotten possessions described so charmingly by Mr. Froude. The severe but just criticisms of England's policy toward the West Indian colonies had a much wider effect. Statesmen were brought to see that a great injustice had been done; and although remedial measures have been slow in coming, they are now being adopted, following the recommendations of a Royal Commission of Inquiry.

I turn now to Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, the present Secretary of State for the Colonies. We have it on the authority of the editor of Mr. Chamberlain's "Foreign and Colonial Speeches" that, "whether as a youth in the Birmingham and Egbaston Debating Society, in Parliament or outside, Mr. Chamberlain has given evidence of his strong sense both of the advantages and the obligations of empire;" and we have it on his own authority that he has "long believed that the future of the colonies and the future of

this country [England] were interdependent."[1] In all his speeches we find this idea, the unity of the empire, strongly emphasized. Thus, speaking at the annual dinner of the Toronto Board of Trade in 1887, he said: "It may well be that the Confederation of Canada may be the lamp to light our pathway to the Confederation of the British Empire. That idea may only exist at present in the imagination of the enthusiast; but it is a grand idea. It is one to stimulate the patriotism of every man who loves his country; and whether or not it should ever prove capable of practical realization, let us all cherish the sentiment which it inspires; let us do all in our power to promote the closer relations, the kindly feelings, which ought always to exist between the sons of England throughout the world and the old folks at home." Ten years later, March 31, 1897, speaking at the Royal Colonial Institute dinner, he said: "We have now reached . . . the true conception of our empire. What is that conception? As regards the self-governing colonies, we no longer talk of them as dependencies. The sense of possession has given place to the sentiment of kinship. We think and speak of them as part of

[1] Speech at the complimentary banquet to Lord Lammington, Hotel Métropole, London, January 21, 1896.

ourselves, — as part of the British Empire, united to us, although they may be dispersed throughout the world, by ties of kindred, of religion, of history, and of language, and joined to us by the seas that formerly seemed to divide us." It is not only in his speeches that Mr. Chamberlain has shown his interest in the colonies. Since he accepted his present office, in 1895, he has devoted all his energies to the advancement of colonial interests, and it was entirely due to the firm stand he made in the matter that the West India Royal Commission was appointed in 1896. It may be said that no very great results have followed the report of this commission; but it must be remembered that a change of policy concerning a large and important group of colonies cannot be effected in a day, and that many conflicting interests have to be considered before a definite line of action can be determined on.

In writing of the influence which Mr. Cecil Rhodes has exerted on public opinion in England relative to the colonies I refrain from discussing those events which have occurred during the past few years in South Africa, and which are so intimately associated with his name. Whereas there may be two opinions as to the

vigorous policy adopted by the Cape Parliament since Mr. Rhodes became a member of that body, about sixteen years ago, there can be but one sentiment in regard to the effect which that policy has had upon the masses of the people in England. Ever since the tragedy of Majuba Hill, in 1881, when Sir George Colley was killed and his small body of English troops almost annihilated by an overwhelming force of Boers, there has existed a very sore feeling in England respecting the short-sighted policy adopted by Mr. Gladstone at that time, and every fresh evidence of Mr. Rhodes's activity in Bechuanaland, Mashonaland, and Matabeleland has been hailed with delight by a vast majority of Englishmen. But a climax was reached when news arrived in England of the Jameson raid of December 29, 1895. I make no comment on the raid or on the circumstances which led up to it; my concern at present is with public opinion in England. Whatever may have been the judgment of wise heads on the affair, the people of England went wild with enthusiasm. Night after night throughout the whole land the performances at the theatres had to be interrupted in order that the audiences might sing songs about the raid; and scenes of indescribable excitement were to

be witnessed wherever a handful of men got together. Finally, when Mr. Rhodes and Dr. Jameson returned to England, they were accorded receptions, not officially, but by the people, scarcely equalled by that given to Lord Kitchener on his return from Egypt after the battle of Omdurman. The effect of all this was to enormously stimulate the spirit of empire.

I do not claim for a moment that there was anything in the Jameson raid or in Mr. Rhodes's Cape policy which materially altered the facts of English colonization in such a way as to make colonial enthusiasm amongst the English people more reasonable than it would have been previously; but the purely emotional effect of the events to which I have referred tended in no small degree to bring about a truer conception of the vital importance of the colonies to the future of England.

I pass now to Mr. Kipling; and I am inclined to think that even if his influence on English thought in regard to the empire has not been actually greater than that of the men I have named above, it has been of a kind that appeals to a somewhat higher set of emotions. We see the others awakening the lust of empire, stimulating the admiration for brave fighting, urging on the spirit of commer-

cial enterprise, administering to that love of adventure which has always characterized the English people; in Mr. Kipling's work we find something higher than all this. If I read Mr. Kipling's work, and especially his later work, aright, there is one dominating idea to be traced in it,— the capacity, the duty, of the men of the Anglo-Saxon race to do thoroughly the task laid on their shoulders, not for love of gain, not for hope of praise, but for the very joy of the accomplished thing. It seems to me that in these latter years of the century we have become peculiarly sensitive to emotional stimulus, more apt than ever before to be controlled for good or evil by sentimental considerations. It is to this quality in us that Mr. Kipling appeals. It is, of course, extremely difficult to gauge the influence which is exerted by such a writer, but my own experience of Englishmen in many lands — and I can scarcely think it exceptional — has shown me that his books have contributed more than those of any other writer to bring about a realization and an appreciation of the magnificent work which is being done by the silent thousands who are quietly, but earnestly, building up the British Empire. The creed he would have us learn is a simple one: —

Go to your work and be strong, halting not in your ways,
Balking the end half-won for an instant dole of praise.
Stand to your work and be wise — certain of sword and pen,
Who are neither children nor Gods, but men in a world of men.

We have seen how the sentiment in regard to colonization has passed through two distinct phases in England, and is now in a third. The first phase was that of the old colonial system; the second may be called the period of *laissez aller;* and the third, which dawned with the Queen's Jubilee in 1887, may be appropriately named the era of Greater Britain. As I have shown, many influences have been at work to produce the present state of feeling; there remains one which has intensified all the others, and marvellously strengthened the bonds which hold the British Empire together, — the character and duration of the reign of Queen Victoria. How great this influence has been cannot be told; it can only be felt. Those who attended the Queen's Diamond Jubilee in 1897, who saw that unparalleled demonstration of June 22, who witnessed the frenzied loyalty of four millions of Her Majesty's subjects gathered from the corners of the world to do her homage, may understand something of it; but it is those who have seen her name honored and loved in the waste places of the

earth, who have found that same loyalty beneath the palm and the pine, in the gold-digger's camp and the shepherd's hut, who may know how large an element of England's greatness has been the personal devotion of the people to the sovereign.

### Summary

A colony, according to the ancient meaning of the word, was a band of persons of common nationality who left their country and settled down in a new territory, where they constituted themselves a distinct political community, the term being applicable to such persons whether or not they continued to yield allegiance to the government of the country from whence they came. Under this definition of the word the United States may still be considered a colony of Great Britain. But the present accepted meaning of the word "colony" is, any outlying portion of an empire which is subject in a greater or less degree to the central authority.

In examining the growth of the British colonial conception we find that it can be divided into three periods. Firstly, the period of the old colonial system, during which the prevailing idea in regard to colonies was that they were a national asset which should be made to yield as much profit as possible to the sovereign state; secondly, the period of *laissez aller*, marked by a strong sentiment in favor of allowing all the colonies to become independent, a sentiment which had its origin in the success of the American Revolutionary War, and was further fostered by the Canadian rebellion of 1837; thirdly, the era of Greater Britain, which may be appropriately described in the words used by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain at the Royal Colonial Institute on March 31, 1897: "We have now reached the true conception of our empire. What is that conception? As regards the self-govern-

ing colonies, we no longer talk of them as dependencies. The sense of possession has given place to the sentiment of kinship. We think and speak of them as part of ourselves, — as part of the British Empire, united to us, although they may be dispersed throughout the world, by ties of kindred, of religion, of history, and of language, and joined to us by the seas that formerly seemed to divide us."

In point of time, the first of these periods commenced with the acquisition of colonies by England at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and closed with the revolt of the American colonies at the end of the eighteenth century. The second period is not so easily delimited, but it may be said that the beginning of the end was reached in 1887, in which year, in the circumstances surrounding the Queen's Golden Jubilee, we observe the birth of the great national idea which found its complete expression at the time of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee in 1897. It was not until 1897 that the third period of the growth of the British colonial conception reached its maturity.

Two powerful causes have contributed to the final development of the British colonial conception — abroad, the growth of colonial ambitions amongst the great Continental Powers; at home, a twofold process of education, appealing on the one hand to the reason, on the other hand to the emotions of the British people. Foremost amongst those who have educated the English public to a true realization of the value and importance of the British colonies are, in the field of action, the Right Honorable Joseph Chamberlain, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Mr. Cecil Rhodes; in the field of letters, Sir J. R. Seeley, James Anthony Froude, and Mr. Rudyard Kipling.

Finally, under the wise and beneficent rule of England's greatest monarch, there have developed in the colonies themselves a passionate love of the mother country and a powerful sense of nationality which afford the strongest assurance of the permanent unity of the United States of Great and Greater Britain.

# CHAPTER II

## FORMS OF GOVERNMENT IN TROPICAL COLONIES

I PROPOSE in this chapter to deal with the forms of government in force in the British tropical colonies, the French tropical colonies, and in the Dutch colony of Java, a range of inquiry which embraces all the more efficient types of administration to be found to-day in the tropical dependencies of European powers.

The British tropical colonies are Labuan, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, and Hong Kong, forming an eastern group; Fiji, and British New Guinea in the Pacific; Gambia, the Gold Coast, Lagos, Sierra Leone, and Mauritius, forming an African group; and the West Indian colonies of Barbados, Jamaica, the Windward Islands (St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada), the Leeward Islands (Antigua, St. Kitts-Nevis, Montserrat, Anguilla, the Virgin Islands, and Dominica), Trinidad, Tobago, and Turks Islands; with British Guiana and British Honduras on the mainland of the American continent.

In addition to these there are a number of small

islands such as Pitcairn Island and Redonda, which are so small that they do not call for notice, and a number of territories like those of the British North Borneo Company, which fall under the control of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and cannot rightly be included in a list of British colonies.

It may be well, before proceeding to an examination of the forms of government in force in the British tropical colonies, to define in a general way the functions of a subordinate government and the limitations involved in subordination to a sovereign government.

Sir George Cornewall Lewis in his work "On the Government of Dependencies" defines a subordinate government as one "which acts by delegated powers, but which possesses powers applicable to every purpose of government, which is complete in all its parts, and would be capable of governing the district subject to it, if the interference of the supreme government with its proceedings were altogether withdrawn." He says further: "A subordinate government resembles a sovereign government in this: that it is completely organized, and possesses all the institutions requisite for the performance of the several functions which are proper to a government. It differs from a sovereign gov-

ernment in this: that it is subordinate to, or, in other words, in the habit of obeying, the government of another political body."

It has been pointed out, however, by Mr. C. P. Lucas, author of "A Historical Geography of the British Colonies," that this definition is not entirely satisfactory, inasmuch as the subordinate governments to which Sir George Lewis referred did not possess, in fact, all the institutions requisite for the performance of the several functions which are proper to a government, for no Foreign Office was attached to them.

It may be further noted that when Sir George Lewis published his work complete self-government had not been granted to the larger colonies, and that the form of government which these colonies enjoy to-day would not fall under the definition of a subordinate government as given above. The Australasian governments, for instance, are not "in the habit of obeying the government of another political body," except in a very narrow and restricted sense, and they might be more properly termed coördinate than subordinate governments. The only practical limits to the complete independence of the great self-governing colonies of Great Britain are that the Crown reserves the treaty-making power and the right of declaring war, and appoints a governor to

reside in the colony as the Sovereign's representative.

In several respects the self-governing colonies of Great Britain are more independent of the Sovereign authority than are the several States of the American Union of the Federal authority. For instance, each colony can make its own tariff regulations, and fill all the local appointments with the exception of the post of governor. Again, England could not impose on the self-governing colonies without the consent of the local legislatures any tax for the purpose of carrying on a war, whereas, as we have recently seen, the Federal government can impose such a tax on the several States of the Union without consulting the State Legislatures.

It is true that each State is represented in Congress and would therefore have a voice in the matter, but here again the British colonies have an advantage, for they enjoy in this respect a much wider representation. Thus the colony of Victoria has a population of 1,170,000 and is governed by a Legislative Council, or Upper House of Parliament, consisting of forty-eight members, and a Legislative Assembly, or Lower House, numbering ninety-five members. The members of the Upper House are elected by voters whose quali-

fication is the possession of freehold property rated at $50 a year, and the members of the Lower House are elected by universal male suffrage.

It will be seen that in the event of a measure coming up in the Victorian Parliament for the imposition of a tax, the people of the colony would be represented to the extent of one vote for every 8,100 of the population. Under similar circumstances the representation of the people of Massachusetts in Congress would only reach one vote for every 150,000 of the population. And further, no such measure could be passed in Victoria if the sentiment of the representatives was against it, whereas it is conceivable that a measure repugnant to the senators and representatives from Massachusetts might be passed by Congress and be forced on the people of the State against their will.

The functions of a subordinate government are limited in two ways; one by the issuance from the sovereign government of a general power of subordinate legislation, the other by the granting of special powers of subordinate legislation. Thus, in the first case, a subordinate government may be presumed to possess the power to pass laws on all subjects, excepting only those which are expressly reserved for the consideration

of the sovereign government, provided that such laws do not conflict with laws established by the supreme legislature of the empire on the same subject, and made applicable by special reference to the country governed by the subordinate legislature. It has, however, been recently held that certain laws of the supreme legislature of Great Britain apply to the British colonies without the embodiment in the bill of any special reference to the colonies. The former Chief Justice of British Guiana, Sir Edward O'Malley, and the associate puisne judges, sitting as the Supreme Court of the colony on January 12, 1897, delivered judgment in a case in which the point was involved whether the Extradition Treaty between Holland and Great Britain and the Act of the British Parliament giving effect to the Treaty applied to the colonies of the high contracting parties. The case was one in which a postmaster of Paramaribo, in Dutch Guiana, absconded with funds belonging to the government of Dutch Guiana and took up his residence in British Guiana. The man was arrested on application from the government of Dutch Guiana, but entered a motion before the Supreme Court for a writ of *habeas corpus*. The writ was issued and the man liberated, on account of certain

technical errors which had been committed by the magistrate who ordered the arrest; but Their Honors in delivering their decision said: "We think it right to further say that we have no manner of doubt whatever as to the application of both the Treaty and the Act in relation to fugitives from Surinam (Dutch Guiana) to this colony."

Generally speaking, in cases where a law has not been passed by a local legislature relative to any particular subject, the law of the sovereign state covering the same subject is held to apply in those colonies which were settled by Englishmen, whilst in those colonies obtained by conquest or cession from a European power, the law of the state which formerly legislated for the colony is applicable. Thus, in Australasia we find the English common law, in British Guiana the Roman-Dutch law.

Government under a special power of subordinate legislation is limited to the subjects named in the instrument creating the subordinate government, and to such subjects as may be from time to time expressly added. According to Sir George Cornewall Lewis: "A subordinate government possesses a power of legislation on every subject which is not tacitly or expressly excepted from its powers. A special subordinate legislator possesses no legislative power which has not been

expressly or by clear implication conferred on him. Consequently, in the latter case, the presumption of law is against, in the former case it is in favor of, the existence of any given legislative power."

The British tropical colonies which I have named at the beginning of this chapter, may be divided, as regards the form of their government, into two classes — those which have representative institutions but not responsible government, and those which are Crown colonies. None of England's tropical colonies are self-governing in the sense that they have representative institutions and responsible government like the Australasian colonies, Canada, and the Cape. As a matter of fact, it is difficult to determine the exact difference, in practice, between a Crown colony and a colony with representative institutions but without responsible government, as in both cases the Crown has the power in the last resort of controlling legislation without making any specific change in the constitution of the colony. The difference, such as it is, will be more easily understood if I describe in detail the constitution of one of the colonies of the latter class and compare it with the working of the Crown colony system.

British Guiana is an example of a colony which possesses representative institutions but not responsible government. The legislature consists of two houses — the Court of Policy, and the Combined Court. The executive functions of the government are exercised by the Governor of the colony and an Executive Council, nominated by the Crown. The Court of Policy consists of sixteen members, eight elected by the people and eight nominated by the Crown. Of the nominated members five hold their seats as *ex officio* members, — the Governor, the Government Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Auditor-General, and the Immigration Agent-General, — and the remaining three are appointed by Her Majesty from the ranks of the public officials in the colony, the custom being to appoint the Colonial Civil Engineer, the Collector of Customs, and the Surgeon-General.

For the purpose of the election of the non-official members of the Court of Policy the colony is divided into eight electoral districts. Each male person in the colony who is over twenty-one years of age, who labors under no legal incapacity, and who is a British subject by birth or naturalization may register as a voter provided he enjoys at the time of registration and has enjoyed for six months previously one of the following property qualifications: —

(*a*) Ownership of not less than three acres of land under cultivation.

(*b*) Ownership of a house or house and land of the annual rental or value of not less than $96.

(*c*) Occupation or tenancy of not less than six acres of land under cultivation.

(*d*) Occupation or tenancy of a house or house and land of the annual rental or value of not less than $192.

(*e*) Possession of an annual income or salary of not less than $480; or has paid during the twelve months previous to registration direct taxes to the colonial revenue to the amount of $20 or upward, license duty of any kind not being included in the term "direct taxes."

The qualifications for voters who reside in a city or town are slightly different from those given above, (*a*) and (*c*) being done away with, and the ownership of a house or house and premises of the appraised value of not less than $500, and the occupancy or tenancy of a house or house and premises at the annual rental of not less than $120, being substituted.

The large majority of the voters are colored men, and of the eight elected members of the Court of Policy as it was constituted in 1898 five were prominent colored citizens.

The Court of Policy has the power to legislate on all matters relating to the internal affairs of the colony, with the exception of financial affairs, which are dealt with, as will be shown, by the Combined Court, and those matters which, by law or usage, are controlled by the Governor and the Executive Council. As the Governor of the colony has an original and a casting vote in the Court of Policy it will be seen that there is, in fact, always a government majority in that body. It is by no means unusual for a law to pass or fail of passage by the Governor's casting vote. The procedure adopted in the Court of Policy is that of the British Imperial Parliament. Bills may be introduced either by government or private members. A bill is read a first time; it is then read a second time; the Court then goes into committee on the bill, after which it is reported, read a third time, and passed or rejected by a call of "ayes" and "noes." The Governor declares the bill passed or rejected without an absolute count of votes; but if any member calls for a count the Governor must ask each member, through the clerk of the Court, whether he votes "aye" or "no," and the result must be recorded in the minutes.

The Combined Court consists of the members of the Court of Policy and a body of six, called

the College of Financial Representatives, sitting together. The financial representatives are elected by the people on the same franchise as the members of the Court of Policy.

The functions of the Combined Court are limited to the passing of the annual estimates and the raising of taxes. In this body the government is in a minority, and a solid vote of the elected section of the Court suffices to carry financial measures in opposition to the government. The Combined Court fixes the tariff of the colony, and no tax of any kind can be imposed without its consent.

On several occasions in the history of the colony the administration has been placed in a very awkward position by the refusal of the Combined Court to vote the salaries of the government officials. The most noted instance of this occurred in 1848 when supplies were stopped by the Combined Court as a protest against the admission of slave-grown sugar into the English market on the same basis as free-grown colonial sugar. The deadlock continued for nearly a year, during which time the public servants continued to perform their duties without drawing any pay; but all public works had to be suspended, and great inconvenience ensued. Finally the Imperial government made cer-

tain concessions and a settlement was effected. As, however, the Crown in granting the constitution of British Guiana retained the right of legislating by Order-in-Council, less conciliatory methods of settling the difficulties could easily have been resorted to. But the home government realized that it was no time to use harsh measures, as the colony was suffering severely from the effects of the abolition of slavery and the equalization of the sugar duties. In fact, Earl Grey, who was at that time Secretary of State for the Colonial and War Department,[1] expressed the greatest sympathy with the colonists. In a despatch dated June 18, 1849, addressed to the officer administering the government of British Guiana, he said, "It is most melancholy to learn, that while the difficulties of the planters have continued since the abolition of slavery to become more and more severe, until now their ruin appears to be almost complete, and the depreciation of property, once of such great value, has reached a point which has involved in the deepest distress great numbers of persons both in this country and the colony; at the same time the negroes, instead of having made a great advance in civilization as might have been hoped

[1] The Principal Secretaryship of State for the Colonies was not created till 1854.

during the fifteen years which have elapsed since their emancipation, have on the contrary, retrograded rather than improved, and that they are now as a body less amenable than they were when that great change took place, to the restraints of religion and law, less docile and tractable, and almost as ignorant and as much subject as ever to the degrading superstition which their forefathers brought with them from Africa." I have quoted this despatch in order to show, what will be frequently noticed by students of British colonial history, that although the Crown has the power to act summarily toward the smaller colonies and thus render vain and empty whatever representative institutions they may enjoy, the tact of English statesmen and their sympathy with the colonies has prevented them from using that power, even in the face of considerable provocation.

In addition to the Court of Policy and the Combined Court, British Guiana has an Executive Council nominated by the Crown. This body consists of six public officers and three civilians and is presided over by the Governor of the colony. Its functions are varied. It appoints members of sanitary boards, vestries, pilotage committees, poor-law boards, canal commissions (permanent bodies which have charge of the

irrigation canals of the colony); it also regulates the local civil service, fixes the polder rate (a charge made for the maintenance of the government draining canals), considers applications for grants of Crown lands, and, in fact, keeps everything in working order.

It may be mentioned that all appointments in the civil service of the colony are subject to the approval of the Crown.

The following colonies have constitutions differing to some extent in form but substantially the same as that of British Guiana: Mauritius, Barbados, Jamaica, the Leeward Islands; but it is to be noted in regard to the three last named that the Crown has not reserved the power of legislating by Order-in-Council, but has the right of veto over all acts of the local legislatures.

All the other British tropical colonies which I have named at the beginning of this chapter — Labuan, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, Hong Kong, Fiji, British New Guinea, Gambia, the Gold Coast, Lagos, Sierra Leone, the Windward Islands, Trinidad, Tobago, Turks Island and British Honduras — may be classed as Crown colonies.

There is, as I have said above, little practical

difference between the colonies having representative institutions but not responsible government and Crown colonies proper, and on this point I may quote from "The Government Year Book": "Crown colonies are those in which the Crown has an effective control of legislation, and also of public officers. The term therefore strictly includes all British colonies except those which may be described as self-governing colonies, or colonies with responsible government." It is to be borne in mind that changes are continually being made in the constitutions of the smaller colonies, and that, therefore, any classification such as I have made is only approximately correct.

The main point of difference between the first and the second class of colonies is that in the former some portion of the legislature is elected by the people, and in the latter the legislature is nominated by the Crown. The Governor of a Crown colony possesses wide powers, and, as he is responsible to the Colonial Office for the condition of the country which he governs, his position is one calling for considerable administrative ability. The Governor of a Crown colony is largely guided by the views of his Executive Council, which generally contains in addition to the official mem-

bers several civilians representing different classes of the community, as the planters and merchants, the white and colored inhabitants. In some of the Crown colonies certain public bodies have the right of nominating one or more members of the Governor's Council. Thus in Hong Kong the Justices of the Peace nominate one member, the Chamber of Commerce, another, whilst in the Straits Settlements two members of the Council are nominated by the Chambers of Commerce of Singapore and Penang.

The Governor of a Crown colony is not bound, however, to follow the advice of his Council, but has the power to legislate through his Council as he may see fit, his acts being subject finally to the review of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The Civil Service of the British tropical colonies is highly organized and highly paid, and the fact that any one who enters the service has an assured position for the rest of his working days (subject to his continued good conduct and efficiency), with practically no limit in the direction of promotion, and at the end a handsome pension, serves to attract the very best class of men that England has to give.

In order to illustrate the opportunities which

are open to English colonial servants, I select the career of one gentleman from the hundreds to be found in the Colonial Office List. This gentleman commenced his colonial service as a District Magistrate in the island of Dominica in the West Indies, at a salary of $1,500 a year; the following year he became Registrar-General of the island, was promoted two years later to the Colonial Secretaryship of Bermuda, and six years later to a similar position at Gibraltar; the following year he was created a Companion of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George. Five years later he was appointed Colonial Secretary of British Guiana, and a year later became acting-Governor of the colony. In 1897 he received the honor of knighthood.

His career presents no extraordinary features; he is simply an efficient civil servant who has received the rewards which he has earned by his good work. Many such records might be selected from the Colonial Office List.

In the British tropical colonies the ranks of the higher officials are made somewhat as follows: — the Governor, a Chief Justice, one or more Puisne Judges, an Attorney-General, a Colonial Secretary, a Solicitor-General, a Registrar-General, a Comptroller of Customs, a Colonial Engineer, a

Postmaster-General, a Surgeon-General, a Receiver-General, an Auditor-General, and an Administrator-General. There are, of course, local variations, and in some of the smaller colonies the list of officials is not so long, but the above list will convey a general idea of the make-up of a colonial government. The salaries of these officials, as of all others, are paid by the colony. The titles of most of these officials explain broadly the duties connected with the offices. The Colonial Engineer superintends public works, the Surgeon-General controls the government hospitals, the Receiver-General receives all taxes and payments due to the government, and the Administrator-General has charge of the estates of minors, insolvents, and others who by law or custom fall under his care. In those colonies in which a system of imported indentured labor is in force a special department exists for the control of the system and for the protection of the immigrants. The official at the head of this department is called the Immigration Agent General, or the Protector of Immigrants, and is one of the most highly paid colonial servants. In the matter of appointments the colored natives of the various colonies are very fairly treated. I know of no instance of the Governor

of a colony being a colored man, but, short of that, colored men are to be found occupying good positions in all branches of the colonial service, as magistrates, medical officers, custom-house officials, land surveyors, and so forth. A notable instance of a colored man rising to a high position in the colonial service is that of Sir Conrad Reeves, the Chief Justice of Barbados,[1] who is universally respected and who was knighted by Her Majesty in recognition of his distinguished services to the colony.

On assuming the government of a colony the Governor is furnished with a copy of Her Majesty's Commission and Instructions, in which his duties are laid down. The following general outline of the powers with which a colonial Governor is invested is taken from the Rules and Regulations for Her Majesty's Colonial Service, published in the Colonial Office List for 1899.

The Governor is empowered to grant a pardon or respite to any criminal convicted in the colonial Courts of Justice.

He may pardon persons imprisoned in colonial jails under sentence of court-martial; but this is not to be done without consulting the officer in command of the forces.

[1] Barbados contains a white population of about seventeen thousand.

He has in general the power of remitting any fines, penalties, or forfeitures, which may accrue to the Queen.

The moneys to be expended for the public service are issued under his warrant. He has usually the power of granting licences for marriages, letters of administration, and probate of wills, unless other provision be made by charter of justice or local law.

He has the power, in the Queen's name, of issuing writs for the election of representative assemblies and councils, of convoking and proroguing legislative bodies, and of dissolving those which are liable to dissolution. He confers appointments to offices within the colony, either absolute, where warranted by local laws, or temporary and provisional, until a reference has been made to Her Majesty's Government.

In colonies possessing responsible government he has, with his Council, the entire power of suspending or dismissing public servants who hold during pleasure. In other colonies he has the power of suspending them from the exercise of their functions under certain regulations, which must be strictly observed, and a limited power of dismissal.

He is empowered to administer the appointed

oaths to all persons, in office or not, whenever he may think fit, and particularly the oath of allegiance. He has the power of granting or withholding his assent to any Bills which may be passed by the legislative bodies; but he is required in various cases to reserve such Bills for the Royal Assent, or to assent to them only with a clause suspending their operation until they are confirmed by the Crown. If anything should happen which may be for the advantage or security of the colony, and is not provided for in the Governor's Commission and Instructions, he may take order for the present therein.

He is not to declare or make war against any foreign State, or against the subjects of any foreign State. Aggression he must at all times repel to the best of his ability; and he is to use his best endeavors for the suppression of piracy.

His attention is at all times to be directed to the state of discipline and equipment of militia and volunteers in the colony, and when either force may be embodied he should send home monthly returns, with a particular account of their arms and accoutrements.

The Governor is on no account to absent himself from the colony without Her Majesty's permission.

He is prohibited from receiving presents, pecuniary or valuable, from the inhabitants of the colony, or any class of them, during the continuance of his office, and from giving such presents, and this rule is to be equally observed on leaving his office. In cases where money has been subscribed with a view of marking public approbation of the Governor's conduct, it may be dedicated to objects of general utility, and connected with the name of the person who has merited such a proof of the general esteem.

Governors are not, without special permission, to forward any articles for presentation to Her Majesty.

The Rules and Regulations from which the above extracts are made contain the most elaborate and detailed instructions in regard to Legislative Councils and Assemblies, Executive Councils, Appointments to Public Offices, Suspension and Dismissal from Office, Pensions and Retiring Allowances, Salaries, Leave of Absence, Precedency, Correspondence, Periodical Returns, and the publication of the Annual "Blue Book."

It may be interesting to my readers, in view of the fact that the United States is now forming a colonial service, to know what salaries are paid to some of the officials in the British tropical colo-

nies. In British Guiana, which contains a population of about three hundred thousand, the salaries of some of the higher officials are: the Governor, $24,000; the Chief Justice, $9,700; the Attorney-General, $7,300; the Colonial Secretary, $7,300; the Immigration Agent General, $7,300. In Ceylon the figures are (calculated at three rupees to the dollar) — the Governor, $27,000; the Chief Justice, $8,300; the Attorney-General, $6,000; the Colonial Secretary, $8,000.

It may be thought that these salaries are large; but it should be remembered that smaller salaries would fail to attract to the service men of the high standard so necessary to successful administration. Again, although a high salary will not keep a dishonest man from following his evil inclinations, the government is enabled by the offer of high salaries to secure a wide field of selection amongst a class of men who are constitutionally high-minded and honest. But even if the matter be placed on the lowest possible ground, that of pure self-interest, it will be readily perceived that the advantages of belonging to the service are so great, and the chances of realizing all reasonable ambitions so good, that few men would be foolish enough to risk their whole career on the slender chance of their malpractices remaining undis-

covered. It is of course needless to add that instant dismissal from the service follows the detection of any departure from honesty. As a matter of fact, instances of dishonesty amongst the members of the colonial service are extremely rare — amongst the higher officials during the past twenty years almost unknown. During the ten years which I spent in the British colonies only two cases of official dishonesty fell under my notice, the delinquents being junior clerks in the West Indian service.

One cannot but be struck, in travelling in the British colonies, by the absolute confidence placed by all classes in the honesty of the public servants. In most of the colonies, and more especially in those enjoying representative institutions, the acts of public servants are subjected to the most detailed criticism; but although I have heard occasional accusations of incompetence or laziness I have never heard even from the most violent critics any suggestion that a public servant was corrupt. It seems to me that had England achieved nothing else, she might rest satisfied with having supplied her dependencies with such a class of public servants as have bred the belief in the many races under her flag that the public funds are devoted to public purposes only, and that the

most powerful planter, the wealthiest merchant, is no more in the eyes of the law than the humblest coolie, or the meanest peasant.

It is useless, however, for me to attempt to convey any adequate impression of the excellence of the British colonial service; only those who have actually lived in contact with these administrative systems can appreciate the sterling qualities of the men who are devoting their lives to the cause of good government.

Before leaving the subject of the government of the British tropical colonies, it may be well to point out some of the advantages and disadvantages which are claimed for the two systems which I have described — the system of representative institutions without responsible government, and the Crown colony system.

There are certain advantages and disadvantages which accrue to a dependency because of its dependence, but which are not, however, to be associated with any particular form of dependence. Such, for instance, are the advantage of the protection against foreign aggression afforded by the prestige, and in the last resort by the arms of the dominant country, and the special and general advantages in financial matters, the former taking the shape of loans contracted under Imperial

guarantee, the latter being manifested in various directions, such as the assistance afforded by the dominant country in time of famine and disaster, and the sense of security felt by investors, even in the absence of Imperial guarantee, when a colony desires to float a loan. On the other hand, there are the general disadvantages of a double government, one local and one Imperial, the liability of a colony to be involved in wars undertaken by the dominant country for reasons entirely unconnected with the welfare of the colonies; and the very real danger that in matters involving Imperial legislation the interests of the colony will be subordinated to those of parties in the dominant country.

But the advantages and disadvantages connected with the form of government enjoyed by the dependency concern us more closely, since those I have mentioned above are involved in the one circumstance of dependence. One of the chief objections to the form of government which includes representative institutions but not responsibility is that a false situation is created. Two of the greatest authorities on colonization have left us their opinions on this question. Herman Merivale, in his twenty-second lecture on colonies and colonization before the University of Oxford

(delivered in 1839, 1840, and 1841), said "A representative body having the power of taxation, is apt to think itself omnipotent in domestic affairs, and to act on that supposition; and if it then becomes necessary to control it by force, it is impossible to intrust it safely any longer with the powers of taxation." It appears to me that Professor Merivale's conclusion is true rather in theory than in practice, for, in the event of coercion being used in such circumstances as he suggested, many considerations would weigh with the taxing body — such, for example, as the possibility of their body being abolished — which might reasonably be expected to induce them to take a more moderate view of their powers.

Sir George Lewis, in the work which I have already quoted, set the matter forth with his characteristic clearness. "It is extremely difficult," he says, "to reconcile the powers of such a representative body with the virtual subjection of the dependency to the dominant country. If the government of the dominant country substantially govern the dependency, the representative body cannot substantially govern it; and conversely, if the dependency be substantially governed by the representative body, it cannot be substantially governed by the government of the dominant

country. A self-governing dependency (supposing the dependency not to be virtually independent) is a contradiction in terms."

Having lived some years in a colony governed in just such a way, that is, by means of representative institutions without responsibility, I have been enabled to observe some of the evil effects which attend such a form of government. In the colony to which I refer, there occurred a couple of years ago an incident which illustrates one of the disadvantages of that form of government. The commandant of the local militia had succeeded in making himself very unpopular amongst the elected members of the taxing body; accordingly, when the salary of this official came up in the annual estimates, the item was struck out. The Governor had no power to overrule this decision, but he wrote a despatch on the subject to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, resulting in a reply which, when laid before the taxing body, caused it to promptly vote the commandant's salary.

What was the result? Not unnaturally the elected members of the taxing body felt that they had a grievance. Nominally they had the power to control the expenditure of the colony, but in practice they found that the Secretary of

State for the Colonies could effectually coerce them. I heard the sentiment freely expressed at the time that it would be better to become a Crown colony outright than to continue the farce of representative government without responsibility. Another disadvantage which may arise from this form of government is that the legislative power may fall into the hands of a particular class. Thus, as has sometimes been the case, a majority of the elective section of the legislative body may consist of planters, and laws may be passed which whilst fostering the interests of that particular class may injure the interests of other sections of the community. It may be said that the official side of the legislative body would in such cases step in and, by using the majority vote which it always holds, prevent the passage of such laws. But as a matter of fact the planters in most colonies form such an important element in the life of the community that the government is loath to act adversely in regard to bills introduced by planters, unless they appear to be clearly unjust in their provisions, which is seldom the case.

The question of planter legislation has been much debated in recent years in British Guiana. It is maintained by the anti-planter party that

the gold industry of the colony has been seriously injured by regulations introduced into the legislature by planters, and passed by the planter vote, with the object of making the development of the gold industry as difficult as possible, the motive of the planters in passing such regulations being, it is claimed, to keep the labor on the sugar estates, which would be impossible if a thriving gold industry existed which would offer to the laborers better wages than the planters could afford to pay. The matter is a controversial one, but I am inclined to think that the power of the planters to divert labor from the gold fields is overestimated.

The advantages of a system of representation even when unaccompanied by responsible government may be said to consist chiefly in the opportunity afforded the people to express to the Governor and his officials their views on the legislation necessary for the welfare of the colony, and in the control which the elected body exercises over the methods of taxation. In regard to the first of these advantages, it is in practice a very real one, for although the Governor and his officials constitute a majority in the legislative body the wishes of the elected section are as a rule allowed to prevail. The cases in which the elected

section consists almost entirely of one class of men, such as lawyers, planters, or merchants are the exceptions; and class legislation is infrequent.

Again, although in regard to the voting of the estimates the elected section of the financial body may occasionally find itself unable to give effect to all its intentions, such occasions are very rare; and in the matter of raising revenue the methods advocated by the elected members are almost invariably adopted.

Turning now to the system of Crown colony government, the chief objection which has been urged against it is that the Governor, whose large discretionary powers enable him to exercise a very rigid control over local affairs, is, broadly speaking, liable to have but a superficial knowledge of the conditions prevailing in his colony, and that there is little security in the control of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, for that official is still less likely to be accurately informed as to local requirements. I am inclined to believe that these disadvantages are not very real. In the first place governors are always trained administrators who are only appointed, in the vast majority of cases, after they have had large experience in one capacity or another in the government of colonies; in the second place, the permanent staff of the

Colonial Office is made up of men who have made a life study of colonization, and are thus well fitted to advise the Secretary of State for the Colonies on all matters coming before him from the Crown colonies. It must be borne in mind also that governors of Crown colonies are guided to a considerable extent by the advice of the local council; and as it is the custom to appoint to that body men representing the various sections of the community, the Governor can make himself thoroughly informed even on those matters which do not fall within his own observation. The great advantage of Crown colony government is that the administration is entirely in the hands of trained officials, free from local prejudice, absolutely forbidden to engage in any trade or to be in any way connected with any commercial undertaking, and unhampered by the constant antagonism of local elected assemblies. It may be pointed out that it is to the manifest interest of the officials to govern well, for the better they govern the more likely are they to gain promotion; and the Secretary of State for the Colonies is well informed as to the work of candidates for promotion in the service, since the Governor of each colony is required to send home each year a confidential report on the work of his officers.

I am inclined to agree with the opinion of Mr. C. P. Lucas, that "experience has shown that for a dependency inhabited by a colored race, where there is at the same time an influential, if small, body of European merchants or planters belonging to the ruling race, this form of government, which unites strong home control with considerable freedom of, and deference to, local opinion, is, on the whole, just, wise, and successful."

The French tropical colonies consist of Yanaon, Mahee, Karikal, Chandernagore, and Pondicherry in India, with a total area of two hundred and five square miles; French Indo-China, consisting of Cochin-China, Tongking, Annam, the Lao Country, and Cambodia, with a total area of one hundred and ninety-seven thousand square miles; the French Congo and Gaboon, Dahomey, the French Ivory Coast, French Guinea, Senegal, and the French Soudan in Africa; the Islands of Madagascar and Réunion in the Indian Ocean; Martinique and Guadeloupe in the West Indies; French Guiana in South America; New Caledonia, the Marquesas Islands, the Society Islands, and Tahiti in Oceania; and a number of small islands in the tropical seas which are, however, insignificant.

In regard to their forms of government, the French tropical colonies may be divided into two

classes — those in which the government is carried out to some extent by the passage of laws, and those in which all matters are settled by the simple decree of the Governor. To the first class belong Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Réunion; to the second class all the other French tropical colonies. In the first class of colonies, the principal subjects to which the passage of laws is applicable, are the exercise of political rights, the regulation of contracts, matters relating to wills, legacies, and succession, the institution of juries, criminal procedure, recruiting for naval and military forces, the method of electing mayors, municipal deputies, and councillors, and the organization of the local Councils-General. In regard to all other matters of importance all the French tropical colonies are on the same basis of legislation, that is, government by decrees issued by the Governor or the Minister of the Colonies.

The Governor of a French colony has very wide powers. He is commander of the local land forces and of such vessels of war as may be attached to his station, as well as of the local militia. He can, of his own authority, declare his colony in a state of siege, and has, at all times, the power to appoint courts-martial for the trial of military offenders. In his administrative capacity

he has absolute authority to regulate nearly all the internal affairs of his colony; and he is above the law, for he cannot be brought before the local courts for any cause whatever.

The Governor is to some extent guided by the advice of two bodies, the Privy Council, which is a nominated body consisting of official and unofficial members, and the General Council, which is made up of councillors elected by the votes of all male persons over twenty-five years of age, who have resided for more than one year in the colony. Generally speaking, these bodies merely advise, but in regard to a few matters, such as the fixing of the tariff, the regulation of transfers of property and mortgages, the Governor is bound to follow the advice thus given him.

Such, in brief, is the constitution of the French tropical colonies; but in addition to the Privy Council and the General Council, some of the colonies have Local Councils and *Conseils d'arrondissements*. The exact delimitation of the functions of these various bodies would involve an amount of detail which would be out of place in a volume intended merely as an introduction to the study of tropical colonization.

The principal officers under the Governor in the French colonies with which I am dealing are, the Director of the Interior, the Military Com-

mandant, the Chief of the Health Department, the Permanent Inspector of Finances, the Attorney-General, and the Judges of the Superior Courts. It is to be noted that Martinique, Guadeloupe, and some of the other colonies which I have named, send representatives to the French Assembly, usually one senator and two deputies; but it is difficult to see that the colonies derive any advantage from this arrangement.

The system which I have just described would seem to imply a very rigid government control over the French colonies; but my observation leads me to suppose that, although such control does undoubtedly exist in some of the French colonies, notably in Madagascar and Indo-China, in others, owing to the weakness of French officials, and the fear inspired by the aggressive attitude of the natives, the ignorant masses are practically in control. In this view I am supported by no less an authority than Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, the eminent French economist. In his work, "De la Colonisation chez les Peuples Modernes," he says, "As regards politics, we have introduced French liberty into our colonies, we give them civil governors, we admit their representatives into our Parliament. . . . All these reforms are excellent in themselves. It is unfor-

tunately to be feared that they will, in practice, result in abuses, and that, unless the mother country is very watchful, those free powers which she has granted to her colonies will become powers of oppression. . . . The deputies whom Martinique and Guadeloupe send to our Parliament serve only to represent the malice, prejudice, and ignorance of the blacks. The weak executive power in France allows itself to be intimidated by these deputies, and sends out to the colonies cowardly and incapable governors, whose indecision of character feeds the more or less barbarous hopes of the negro majority. It is contemplated to pass a jury law in the Antilles which would place the lives of the whites in the hands of their enemies. It is also suggested that the French troops be replaced by a local militia, which, in a short time would, by force of circumstance, be composed chiefly of negroes. The hatred of the negro for the white man is complicated in these islands by the hatred of the poor for the rich. Great caution is necessary, for, as things are going, the history of St. Domingo may easily be repeated; and when the white man is driven from these islands which he has colonized, and the blacks are left alone, Martinique and Guadeloupe will relapse into barbarism."

The colonial system of Holland, or more correctly, the system adopted by Holland in the government of Java, is undoubtedly, if measured by its general results, the most efficient type which exists. In its general outline it resembles the English Crown colony system, but in most of its details it is superior to that system.

The head of the administration in Java is the Governor-General, whose powers are almost as extensive as those of an absolute monarch. The supreme legislative and executive power rests in his person; he can declare war, and conclude peace, and negotiate treaties with the native princes of the Dutch East Indian Possessions; all offices are within his gift; and he can expel from his dominions any person who is in his opinion an enemy of public order. He is president of the Indian Council, which consists of a vice-president and four nominated members. This body is an advisory one except in regard to a few matters specified in the laws relating to the colony; but the Governor-General has the power of acting contrary to the advice of the Council even on these specified subjects, if he declares that the public interest demands it. The Governor-General of Java is, in fact, a viceroy. He is responsible to the Sovereign only for his actions; and

the Sovereign can only proceed against him by impeachment before the Second Chamber of the States-General.

The central government in Java is conducted, under the orders of the Governor-General, by five officials called "directors." They control respectively the departments of the interior, of finances, of education and trade, of justice, and of public works. For administrative purposes the island is divided into twenty-two "residencies," each under the control of a Dutch resident. Each residency is divided into several regencies, administered by regents, who are usually natives of high birth.

Before dealing with the organization of the corps of native officials, a few words may be said about the qualifications of the European staff. Nowhere, except perhaps in the British Indian Civil Service, is as much care taken in the selection of officials as in the Dutch East Indies. All appointments to the higher administrative posts in Java follow a rigid examination in the history, geography, and ethnology of the Dutch East Indies, the political and social institutions of the natives, and in the Malay and Javanese languages. The officials who are to be charged with the administration of justice must hold the degree of

Doctor of Laws from one of the Dutch universities, and in addition pass examinations in Mussulman law and local common law. The salaries of these officials are large, ranging from about $15,000 a year for the directors to about $6000 for the residents. Admirable as is the European service in the Dutch East Indies, it is not until we turn to the organization of the native staff that we observe in its highest form the colonizing genius of Holland. When the Dutch occupied Java at the beginning of the seventeenth century, they found the island divided up into a number of kingdoms or principalities, each of them governed by a native ruler who held his position as being the head of the reigning family. In dividing the island into twenty-two administrative districts, the Dutch followed as far as possible the boundaries of the petty native States, and whilst taking away the substance of authority from the native rulers allowed them to retain its outward semblance. Thus the regent who is at the head of each regency is generally the same man who, in the event of the Dutch authority never having been established, would have been the native prince of that district. But he is a paid servant of the Dutch government and is really under the control of the Dutch resident. The natives are

not allowed to perceive that such control exists, for the regent maintains great state, and when the resident visits the regency he takes care to show the greatest deference to the regent. The resident is called the regent's eldest brother, a title which appeals strongly to one of the most deeply rooted of the native traditions — that in the absence of the father the eldest brother is entitled to the obedience and respect of the whole family.

Of course the regent is sufficiently shrewd to see that it is only for so long as he defers to the wishes of his "eldest brother" that the Dutch government will allow him the privileges of his rank and pay him the handsome salary which is attached to his post.

All the wishes of the European officials are transmitted to the natives through the medium of the regents, and the natives are not, therefore, made to feel that they are subject to the orders of foreign intruders. M. Jules Leclercq, in his charming work "Un Séjour dans L'Ile de Java" describes the system thus: "The natives are under the control of the regent, their natural ruler, while as regards the resident, in whose hands the power really rests, he does nothing except through the regent; but in order to conceal

the authority which he exercises over the regent he is called the latter's 'eldest brother,' and he gives his orders in the form of recommendations. This method, which would be considered absurd amongst us, carries the highest significance amongst the Javanese, for according to their notions the eldest brother is, in the absence of the father, the head of the family, and is respected as such by the younger brothers, although always looked on as a brother and not as an official superior. . . . The regent, although he has only the semblance of power, makes up for it by enjoying all those exterior forms which catch the crowd, for he retains his rank and can surround himself with all the luxury of an Asiatic court. He is better paid than the resident and takes precedence over all European functionaries with the exception of that official."

Immediately under the regents are a class of officials called "wedanas." They are natives of high family and are elected by the people, subject to the approbation of the regent. Each of the wedanas is in charge of a district of the regency. Beneath the wedanas are the mantries, who are really aides-de-camp. They are appointed by the wedana from amongst the better families in his district.

An important feature of the Dutch rule in the East Indies is that no attempt has been made to force the Dutch language on the natives. All Dutch officials must be proficient in the native dialects, and justice is administered either in Malay or Javanese.

If the highest object of government is to make a country tranquil and prosperous, then the Dutch have governed better than any European nation which has undertaken the management of tropical dependencies.

SUMMARY

The British tropical colonies (omitting a few small islands which are unimportant) are Labuan, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, and Hong Kong, forming an eastern group; Fiji and New Guinea in the Pacific; Gambia, the Gold Coast, Lagos, Sierra Leone, and Mauritius, forming an African group; and the West Indian colonies of Barbados, Jamaica, the Windward Islands (St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada), the Leeward Islands (Antigua, St. Kitts-Nevis, Montserrat, Anguilla, the Virgin Islands, and Dominica), Trinidad, Tobago, and Turks Islands; with British Guiana and British Honduras on the mainland of the American continent.

In regard to their forms of government these colonies may be divided into two classes: (1) Crown colonies; (2) Colonies having representative institutions but not responsible government.

All the above colonies belong to the first class except British Guiana, Barbados, Jamaica, the Leeward Islands, and Mauritius, which belong to the second class.

In a Crown colony the government is administered by a governor appointed from England and a staff of officials appointed in some cases by the Colonial Office in London, sometimes by the Governor with the approval of the Colonial Office. The Governor is assisted by a body called the Executive Council, which consists of official and non-official members nominated by the Crown. The Executive Council has merely the power to advise, and the Governor, whilst usually following its advice, is not bound to do so. All the acts of the Governor are subject to the consent of the Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.

In a colony possessing representative institutions the administration is conducted in the following way: — there is an Upper and Lower House of Legislature, each containing members nominated by the Crown and members elected by the people. In the Upper House the government usually has a majority, in the Lower House elected members outnumber the officials. All matters relating to finance, such as the raising of taxes, the fixing of the tariff, and the voting of the annual estimates, require the consent of the Lower House. This system of representation does not confer self-government on a colony, for all acts of the legislature require the consent of the Queen-in-Council.

There is little practical difference between a Crown colony and a colony possessing representative institutions but not responsible government, for in each case the Crown has the power, by one method or another, of controlling legislation.

The great advantage of Crown colony government is that the administration is in the hands of trained officials, free from local prejudice, absolutely forbidden to engage in any trade or to be in any way connected with any commercial undertaking, and unhampered by the constant antagonism of elected assemblies. The advantage of representative institutions even when unaccompanied by responsible government is that the people have a voice in the legislation and exercise a control over the finances of the colony. For dependencies inhabited by a colored race, where

there is at the same time an influential body of Europeans, the Crown colony system, which unites strong home control with considerable deference to local opinion, is, on the whole, the best.

The British Colonial Civil Service is highly organized and highly paid. The salary of a colonial Governor varies from $30,000 a year to about $6000, and other officials are paid in proportion. — Appointments in the Colonial Civil Service are permanent, and carry with them an adequate pension. The outlook for promotion is excellent. The Service attracts men of ability and integrity; and instances of official corruption are almost unknown. Appointments are filled without regard to the color of the applicant; and colored men are found throughout the British tropical colonies occupying well paid positions for which they have competed with white men.

The French tropical colonies consist of Yanaon, Mahee, Karikal, Chandernagore, and Pondicherry in India, with an area of 205 square miles; French Indo-China, made up of Cochin-China, Tongking, Annam, the Lao Country, and Cambodia, with a total area of 197,000 square miles; the French Congo and Gaboon, Dahomey, the French Ivory Coast, French Guinea, Senegal, the French Soudan in Africa; the Islands of Madagascar and Réunion in the Indian Ocean; Martinique and Guadeloupe in the West Indies; French Guiana in South America; New Caledonia, the Marquesas Islands, the Society Islands, and Tahiti in Oceania; and a number of small islands which are insignificant. In regard to their forms of government they may be divided into two classes: (1) those in which laws are passed by a local legislature, (2) those in which the government is conducted by decrees. To the first class belong Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Réunion; to the second class all the other colonies named. In the colonies of the first class the range of subjects on which the local legislature can pass laws is very narrow. Where a legislature exists it is composed of two bodies, the Privy Council, the members of which are nominated, and the General Council, the members of which are elected by

the people. Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Réunion send representatives to the French National Assembly.

The system of administration adopted by the Dutch in Java has been highly successful. The island is divided into twenty-two administrative districts or "residencies," each of which is under the control of a Dutch official called the resident. The Dutch have been careful not to thrust their government on the people in an aggressive manner, and the plan is adopted of having a native official nominally governing each of the regencies into which the residencies are divided. As the districts are mapped out so as to correspond with the ancient native principalities, it has been possible to utilize the natives of high rank as regents in those districts of which, were it not for the Dutch occupation, they would be the natural native rulers. The power rests with the resident, the form with the regent. The resident is called the regent's "eldest brother," a title highly honored amongst the Javanese; and the orders of the residents are conveyed to the regents in the form of recommendations, which coming from the eldest brother are, according to immemorial custom, always obeyed. The regents surround themselves with a great deal of form and ceremony, and as their salaries are large and the enjoyment of their rank dependent on the will of the government, they can be relied on to carry out orders. Under this system the natives are not made to feel the foreign yoke.

The European officials are carefully chosen and are compelled to pass severe examinations in the history, geography, law, ethnology, and customs of the natives, and in addition must learn Malay and Javanese, in one or the other of which languages all intercourse with the natives is carried on. The Governor-General of Java has very large discretionary powers, and is responsible for his actions only to the Sovereign of the Netherlands. The higher administration in Java consists of the Governor-General and a nominated advisory board of five members. The Governor-General is not bound to follow the advice of this board.

## CHAPTER III

### TRADE AND THE FLAG

As to whether trade follows the flag, there is a great diversity of opinion. As far as I am aware, however, there has not yet been published any analysis of trade returns sufficiently comprehensive to justify any theory in regard to the question, either affirmative or negative. It is true that in Sir Rawson W. Rawson's exhaustive Report on the "Tariffs and Trade of the British Empire" there is a very comprehensive analysis of British trade; but great as is the mass of material presented in the Report, it was not collected and arranged with the view of determining the particular point of which I have spoken.

Before proceeding to define the scope of my inquiry into the question of trade and the flag, I wish to lay before my readers the opinions of some well-known authorities in regard to the matter.

"We must carefully distinguish between the effects of the colony trade and those of the monopoly of that trade. The former are always and necessarily beneficial; the latter always and necessarily hurtful. But the former are so bene-

ficial, that the colony trade, though subject to a monopoly, and notwithstanding the hurtful effects of that monopoly, is still upon the whole beneficial, and greatly beneficial; though a good deal less so than it otherwise would be."[1]

"The monopoly of the colony trade, therefore, like all the other mean and malignant expedients of the mercantile system, depresses the industry of all other countries, but chiefly that of the colonies, without in the least increasing, but on the contrary diminishing, that of the country in whose favor it is established."[2]

"A country which founds a colony on the liberal principle of allowing it to trade freely with all the world, necessarily possesses considerable advantages in its markets from identity of language, religion, customs, etc. These are natural and legitimate sources of preference, of which it cannot be deprived; and these, combined with equal or greater cheapness of the products suitable for the colonists, will give its merchants the complete command of the colonial markets."[3]

"It is perhaps true that, even under a system

[1] Adam Smith, "Wealth of Nations," bk. iv. ch. vii.

[2] *Ibidem.*

[3] J. R. McCulloch, author of "A Dictionary of Commerce," "Statistical Account of the British Empire," etc., in a note to an edition of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" published in 1864.

of free competition, the mother country will long retain an advantage in the market of her colony from the durability of national tastes and habits."[1]

"Plainly expressed the theory amounts to this: so long as British nationality prevails, and until an absolutely new community is created, so long there will be a tendency in the colony to buy a dearer article from England in preference to a cheaper article from elsewhere. And when thus expressed, it seems to me almost to convey its own refutation. It is not to be denied, indeed, that such a tendency may exist; but that it can exist to such an extent as substantially to control 'the force and violence of the ordinary course of trade,' the simple preference for the cheapest market, is extremely difficult to believe."[2]

"Community of language, habit, and tradition, gives, even where colonial commerce is unrestricted, a great advantage to the mother country over all other nations. The colonists retain for a long time the manners and tastes of the mother country, and they naturally prefer to purchase from her, for their relations with her are of a

[1] Professor Herman Merivale, in Lecture VII. of a series on Colonies and Colonization, delivered before the University of Oxford, 1839–41.

[2] Note added by Professor Merivale to the passage quoted immediately above, in an edition of his "Lectures," published in 1861.

more intimate kind than their relations with other countries."[1]

"The third advantage [which a dominant country derives from the possession of colonies] is its trade with the colonies. This advantage partly exists, partly has disappeared. It exists, in the sense that if India, or Singapore, or Hong Kong were owned by another European power, British trade would no doubt be seriously crippled by hostile tariffs. On the other hand, it is difficult to say that Great Britain derives any trade advantage from her connection with the self-governing colonies, seeing that those colonies treat her commerce no better and no worse than that of foreign nations.[2] It is impossible to prove that 'trade follows the flag.'"[3]

In order to determine as far as is possible the relation of trade to the flag, I have prepared nine diagrams, four of which relate to the trade of Great Britain and Ireland during the past forty years, two to the trade of the British Colo-

[1] Paul Leroy-Beaulieu in his chapter "Du Commerce Colonial et de son Utilité," in "De la Colonisation chez les Peuples Modernes."

[2] Mr. Lucas wrote before the passage of the Canadian Tariff Act of 1898, by the terms of which a rebate of 25% was granted to the United Kingdom.

[3] Mr. C. P. Lucas, author of "Historical Geography of the British Colonies," in his introduction to an edition of Sir George Cornewall Lewis's "Essay on the Government of Dependencies."

nies and Possessions during the past forty years, one to the trade of France during the past twenty years, one to the trade of Jamaica during the past twenty years, and one to the trade of Mauritius during the past twenty years.

The diagrams are numbered consecutively from one to nine, and may be briefly described as follows:—

Diagram 1. The value in pounds sterling of the total imports into the United Kingdom for each year, from 1856 to 1895 (the figures for 1896 and 1897 are given in the text), showing the value in each year of the imports from the British Colonies and Possessions, and the proportion per cent which the value of the imports from the Colonies and Possessions bore in each year to the value of the total imports into the United Kingdom.

Diagram 2. The value in pounds sterling of the total exports from the British Colonies and Possessions for each year, from 1856 to 1895 (the figures for 1896 and 1897 are given in the text), showing the value in each year of the exports to the United Kingdom and the proportion per cent which the value of the exports to the United Kingdom bore in each year to the value of the total exports from the British Colonies and Possessions.

Diagram 3. The value in pounds sterling of the total exports of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom for each year, from 1856 to 1895 (the figures for 1896 and 1897 are given in the text), showing the value in each year of such exports to the British Colonies and Possessions, and the proportion per cent which the value of such exports to the Colonies and Possessions bore in each year to the value of the total exports of this class from the United Kingdom.

Diagram 4. The value in pounds sterling of the total imports into the British Colonies and Possessions for each year, from 1856 to 1895 (the figures for 1896 and 1897 are given in the text), showing the value in each year of the imports of Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom, and the proportion per cent which the value of such imports bore in each year to the value of the total imports into the British Colonies and Possessions.

Diagram 5. The value in pounds sterling of the total imports into the United Kingdom for each year from 1859 to 1898, showing the value of the imports from the United States, and the proportion per cent which the value of the imports from the United States bore in each year to the value of the total imports into the United Kingdom.

Diagram 6. The value in pounds sterling of the total exports of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom for each year, from 1859 to 1898, showing the value of such exports to the United States, and the proportion per cent which such exports to the United States bore in each year to the value of the total exports of this class from the United Kingdom.

Diagram 7. The value in francs of the total imports for home consumption into France, for each year from 1877 to 1896, and the value of the total exports of the Produce and Manufactures of France for each year, from 1877 to 1896, showing the imports from the French Colonies and Possessions, and the exports to the French Colonies and Possessions, and the proportion per cent which the value of the colonial imports and exports bore in each year to the value of the total French imports and exports as defined above.

Diagram 8. The value in pounds sterling of the total imports and exports of the Island of Jamaica for each year from 1878 to 1897, showing the value of the imports from and exports to France and England respectively.

Diagram 9. The value in pounds sterling of the total imports and exports of the Island of

Mauritius for each year, from 1878 to 1897, showing the value of the imports from and exports to France and England respectively.

As these diagrams cover a very wide area of investigation, and as the figures in them are drawn from many sources, it is not claimed that they are absolutely correct in every detail. I have, however, taken the utmost pains to make the figures a very close approximation to absolute accuracy, and an allowance of one per cent will probably cover all errors in the totals. It will be noticed that all the diagrams with the exception of numbers 8 and 9 are drawn to the same scale, 250,000,000 francs being taken as equivalent to £10,000,000 sterling.

It is to be noted that the value of diamonds exported from the Cape of Good Hope is not included in the diagrams relating to the imports of the United Kingdom and to the exports of the British Colonies and Possessions.

It will naturally occur to my readers that the growth of the British colonial trade as shown in the diagrams is associated with a large increase of colonial territory; this is, however, only the case to a very limited extent, as will be seen by the following table of Colonies and Possessions included in diagrams 1, 2, 3, and 4.

The diagrams begin with the year 1856, in which year the following Colonies and Possessions are included in the calculations:—

India, Ceylon, Mauritius, Labuan, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, the Falkland Islands, Natal, Cape of Good Hope, St. Helena, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward's Island, Newfoundland, Bermuda, British Honduras, the Bahamas, Turks Islands, Jamaica, Virgin Islands, St. Christopher, Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat, Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Barbados, Grenada, Tobago, Trinidad, British Guiana, and Malta.

In 1860 Queensland is added, in 1862 the Straits Settlements, in 1865, Lagos; in 1876 Malta drops out, and Fiji is added. From 1876 onward, the units remain the same. The colonies of Hong Kong and Gibraltar are not included in the calculations, the trade of the former being almost entirely transit trade, and the latter being simply a military post. It will be understood that the vast hinterland of the Cape of Good Hope is supplied largely through that colony and through Natal, and that in consequence the enormous increase of the Cape and of the Natal trade is due in some degree to territorial expansion. Some idea

of the increase in the trade of the Cape Colony and of Natal may be gathered from the following figures:—

*Value of Imports.*

| | 1856. | 1897. |
|---|---|---|
| Cape of Good Hope, . . | £1,607,124 | £17,997,789 |
| Natal, . . . . . | 102,512 | 6,001,969 |

*Value of Exports.*

| | 1856. | 1897. |
|---|---|---|
| Cape of Good Hope, . . | £1,346,271 | £21,660,210 |
| Natal, . . . . . | 56,563 | 1,579,538 |

From the nine diagrams we may hope to determine the following facts: (1) The absolute and relative importance of the trade between the United Kingdom and the British Colonies and Possessions. (2) The absolute and relative importance of the trade between the United Kingdom and the United States. (3) The amount of the trade of the British Colonies and Possessions which falls to the United Kingdom, and whether the United Kingdom secures a greater or less proportion of this trade as time passes. (4) The absolute and relative importance of the trade of France with the French Colonies and Possessions, and whether this trade has a tendency to increase or decrease. (5) Whether nationality as opposed to possession affects the course of trade.

Before setting out to examine the diagrams in detail, it is necessary to account for the violent fluctuation in the curves of percentage in some of the diagrams. Thus in diagrams 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6, we observe a violent disturbance of trade during the years 1861 to 1865. This was due to the American Civil War, and is easily explained by reference to the statistics of the cotton industry during those years.

In 1860 the United Kingdom imported from the United States 1,115,000,000 pounds of cotton, and from the British Colonies and Possessions 205,000,000 pounds; in 1863 the figures had changed to 6,394,000 pounds from the United States and 459,000,000 pounds from the British Colonies and Possessions. When it is remembered that the price of cotton quadrupled between 1860 and 1863 it is easily perceived that during those years an immense sum of money was transferred from the foreign to the colonial import trade of the United Kingdom.

Between 1864 and 1865 the imports of American cotton into the United Kingdom increased from 14,000,000 pounds to 136,000,000 pounds, thus restoring the balance between the foreign and colonial imports of the United Kingdom.

In examining the diagrams in detail we may

consider numbers 1 and 2 together, for the value of colonial imports into the United Kingdom in the first table appears as the value of exports from the British Colonies and Possessions to the United Kingdom in the second table.

In the trade returns of many of the British Colonies the cost of freight and insurance is added to the real value of imports as shown in the invoices at the port of origin. It has been impossible to take account of the discrepancies thus created. In comparing the value of the total imports into the English Colonies and Possessions with the value of the imports from the United Kingdom the total value is uniformly that given in the "Statistical Abstract for the Several Colonial and Other Possessions of the United Kingdom," published yearly by the British Government; whilst the value of imports from the United Kingdom is that shown in the export returns in the "Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom." It will thus be seen that whereas the question of freight and insurance creates a discrepancy between the value of goods as they leave London, and as they arrive in Melbourne, for example, the standard of comparison is uniform throughout.

Taking the average of the first four years and

of the last four years in diagram 1, we find that the value of the total imports into the United Kingdom has increased from 175,000,000 of pounds to 413,000,000, and the value of the imports from the British Colonies and Possessions from 41,000,000 of pounds to 94,000,000. In other words, whilst the total imports of the United Kingdom have increased to 2.36 times their earlier value the colonial imports have increased to 2.30 times their earlier value. This indicates that the imports from the British Colonies and Possessions have maintained a very steady ratio to the total imports of the United Kingdom, which shows that the United Kingdom is not less dependent now than it was forty years ago on colonial imports; and conversely, that, despite all that has been said and written about the importance of England's colonies as a source of supply, the importance of the colonies in this respect has not appreciably increased during the past forty years.

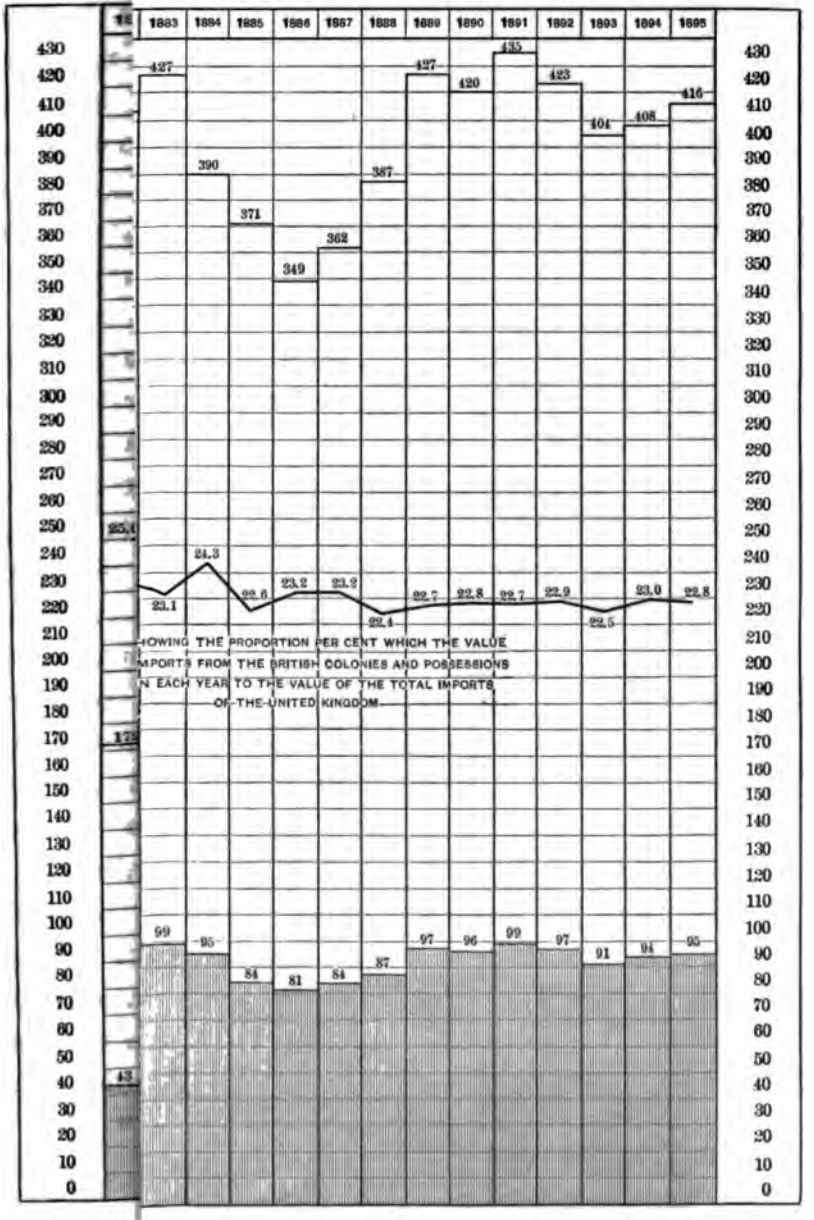
If we divide the forty years 1856–95 into ten four-year periods, and take the average of each of these periods we find that, with the exception of the years influenced by the American Civil War, there is not a variation of 2% in the proportion borne by the value of the colonial im-

Sterling

*Diagram 1*

United Kingdom

om the British Colonies and Possessions



nies and Possessions during the past forty years, one to the trade of France during the past twenty years, one to the trade of Jamaica during the past twenty years, and one to the trade of Mauritius during the past twenty years.

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Diagram 2. The value in pounds sterling of the total exports from the British Colonies and Possessions for each year, from 1856 to 1895 (the figures for 1896 and 1897 are given in the text), showing the value in each year of the exports to the United Kingdom and the proportion per cent which the value of the exports to the United Kingdom bore in each year to the value of the total exports from the British Colonies and Possessions.

Diagram 3. The value in pounds sterling of the total exports of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom for each year, from 1856 to 1895 (the figures for 1896 and 1897 are given in the text), showing the value in each year of such exports to the British Colonies and Possessions, and the proportion per cent which the value of such exports to the Colonies and Possessions bore in each year to the value of the total exports of this class from the United Kingdom.

Diagram 4. The value in pounds sterling of the total imports into the British Colonies and Possessions for each year, from 1856 to 1895 (the figures for 1896 and 1897 are given in the text), showing the value in each year of the imports of Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom, and the proportion per cent which the value of such imports bore in each year to the value of the total imports into the British Colonies and Possessions.

Diagram 5. The value in pounds sterling of the total imports into the United Kingdom for each year from 1859 to 1898, showing the value of the imports from the United States, and the proportion per cent which the value of the imports from the United States bore in each year to the value of the total imports into the United Kingdom.

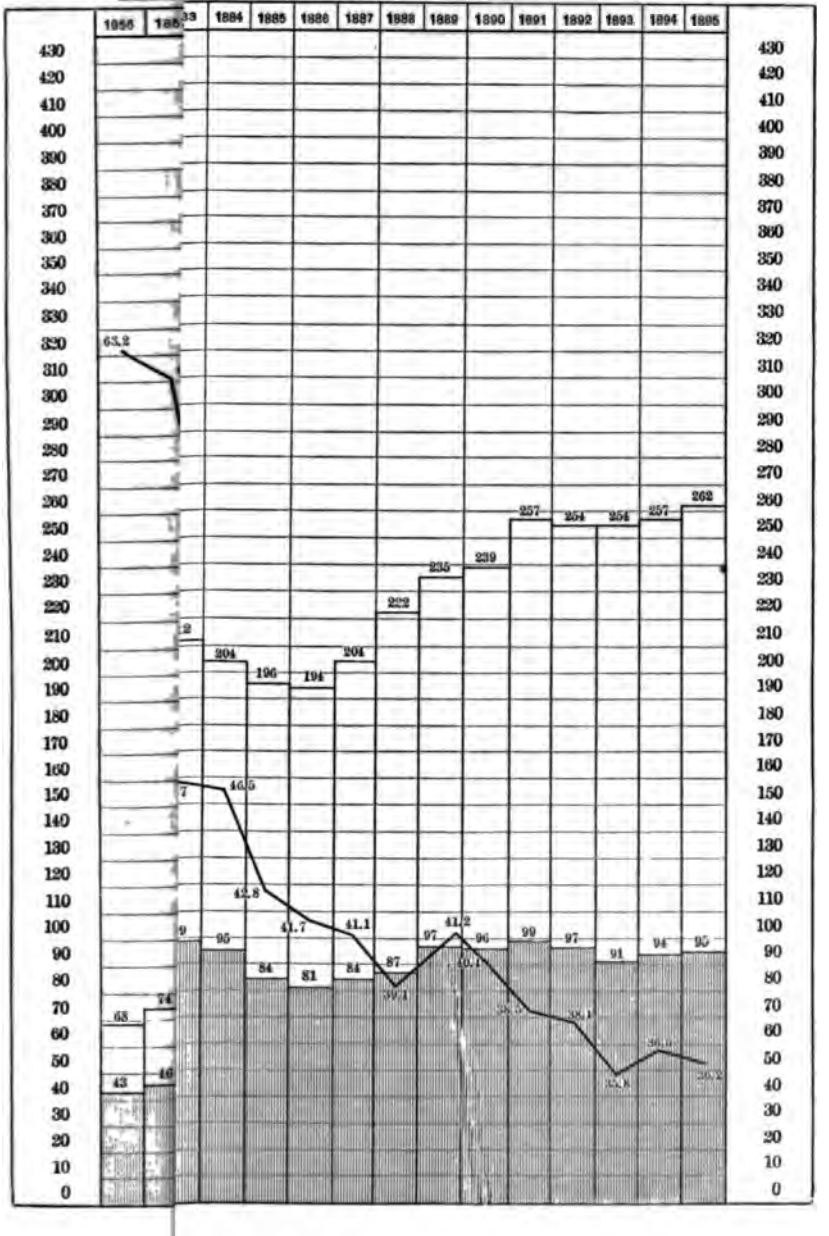
fast becoming independent of England as far as the sale of colonial produce is concerned Taking the first four years and the last four years of the diagram, as before, it is seen that the total exports from the British Colonies and Possessions have increased in value from 73,000,000 of pounds to 257,000,000, or to 3.52 times their earlier value, whilst the value of the exports to the United Kingdom has mounted from 41,000,000 of pounds to 94,000,000, or to only 2.30 times the earlier value.

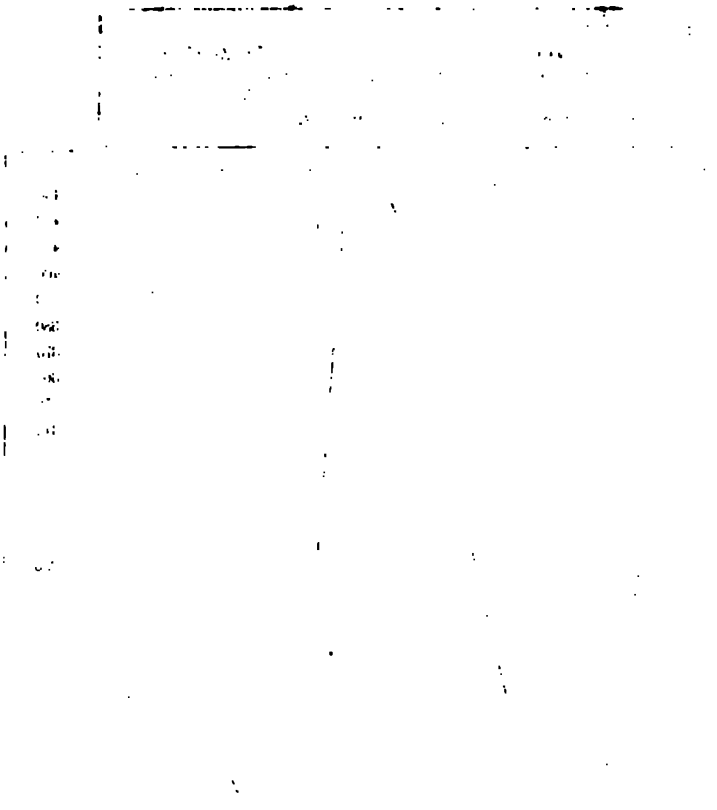
This indicates the establishment of the commercial independence of the British Colonies and Possessions as a whole. The fact is made more strikingly apparent when we divide the forty years up into ten four-year periods and observe the gradual but steady decrease which has taken place since 1872–75 in the proportion borne by the value of the exports from the British Colonies and Possessions to the United Kingdom to the value of the total exports of the British Colonies and Possessions. This proportion was as follows in the ten four-year periods: 1856–59, 57.1%; 1860–63, 65.4%; 1864–67, 57.6%; 1868–71, 53.5%; 1872–75, 54.0%; 1876–79, 50.3%; 1880–83, 48.1%; 1884–87, 43.0%; 1888–91, 39.7%; 1892–95, 36.6%. It will be seen that with the exception

ds Sterling

*Diagram 2*

Colonies and Possessions
of the United Kingdom





of an increase of one-half of one per cent between 1872 and 1875 there has been a steady falling off in the relative importance of the exports from the British Colonies and Possessions to the United Kingdom. The figures for 1896 and 1897 indicate a further decrease, being 36.1% in the former year and 35.3% in the latter.

Turning now to the value of the exports of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom and the share of the British Colonies and Possessions in this trade, it is convenient to consider diagrams 3 and 4 together, since the value of exports from the United Kingdom to the British Colonies and Possessions as shown in diagram 3 appear as the value of the imports of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom into the British Colonies and Possessions in diagram 4.

Pursuing the method previously adopted, and taking the average of the first four years and the last four years in diagram 3, we see that the value of the total exports of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom increased from 121,000,000 of pounds to 221,000,000, or to 1.82 times their earlier value, and that the value of the exports of this class to the British Colonies and Possessions increased from 39,000,000 of pounds to 72,000,000, or to 1.84 times the

earlier value. These figures indicate a very slight change in the relative value of the British Colonies and Possessions as a market for British goods during the past forty years. Divided into four-year periods, the percentage borne by the value of the exports to the British Colonies and Possessions to the value of the total exports of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom appears as follows: 1856–59, 32.1%; 1860–63, 33.2%; 1864–67, 29.3%; 1868–71, 25.4%; 1872–75, 27.7%; 1876–79, 33.4%; 1880–83, 34.2%; 1884–87, 35.1%; 1888–91, 34.1%; 1892–95, 32.4%.

The figures for 1896 and 1897 show an increase in the percentage, which is in the former year 35.0 and in the latter 34.1. This increase is coincident with a marked falling off of British exports to the United States, following the operation of the new tariff in that country.

Diagram 4 shows the value of the total imports of the British Colonies and Possessions and the value of that portion of the imports which was the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom. Taking the first four years in the diagram and the last four years, it is seen that the value of the total imports into the British Colonies and Possessions increased during the forty years from 83,000,000 of pounds to 221,000,000,

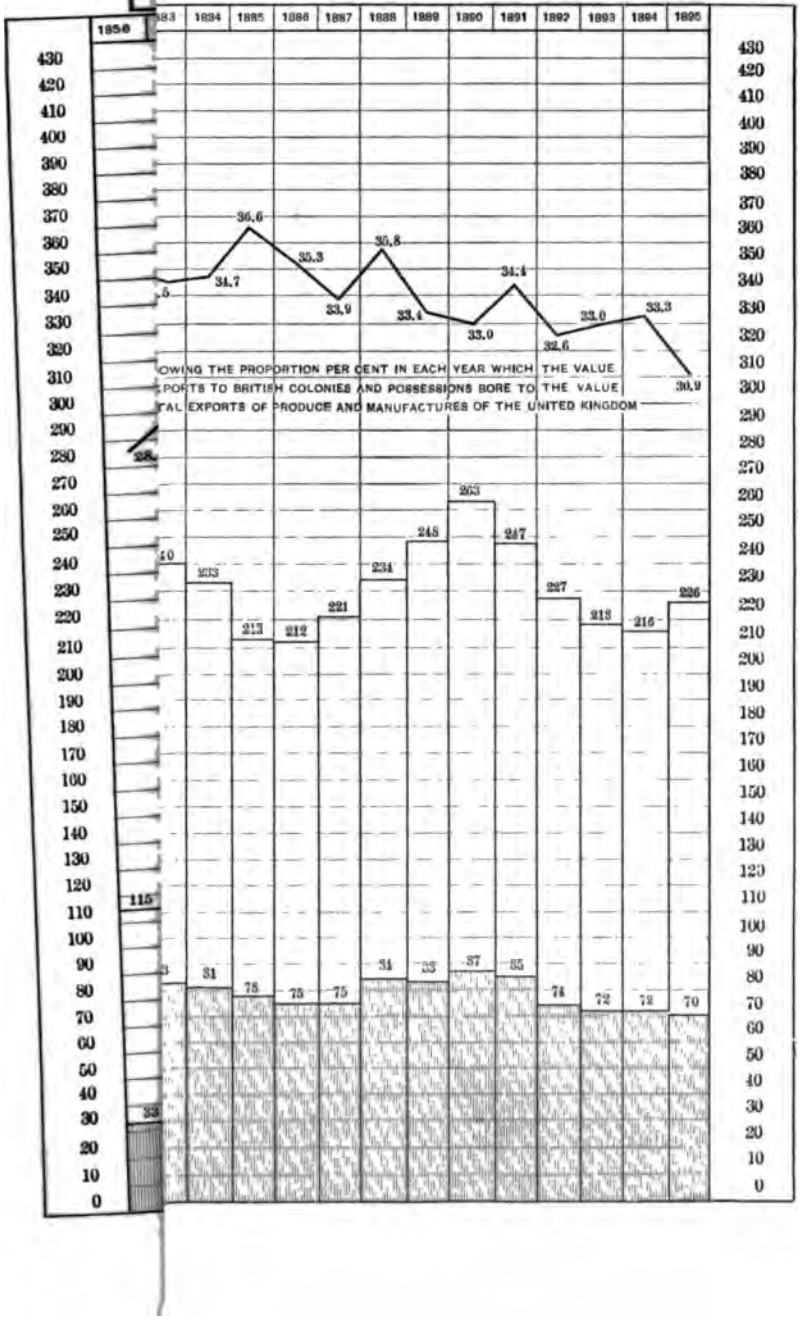
nds Sterling

*Diagram 3*

e

tures of the United Kingdom

Exports to British Colonies and Possessions



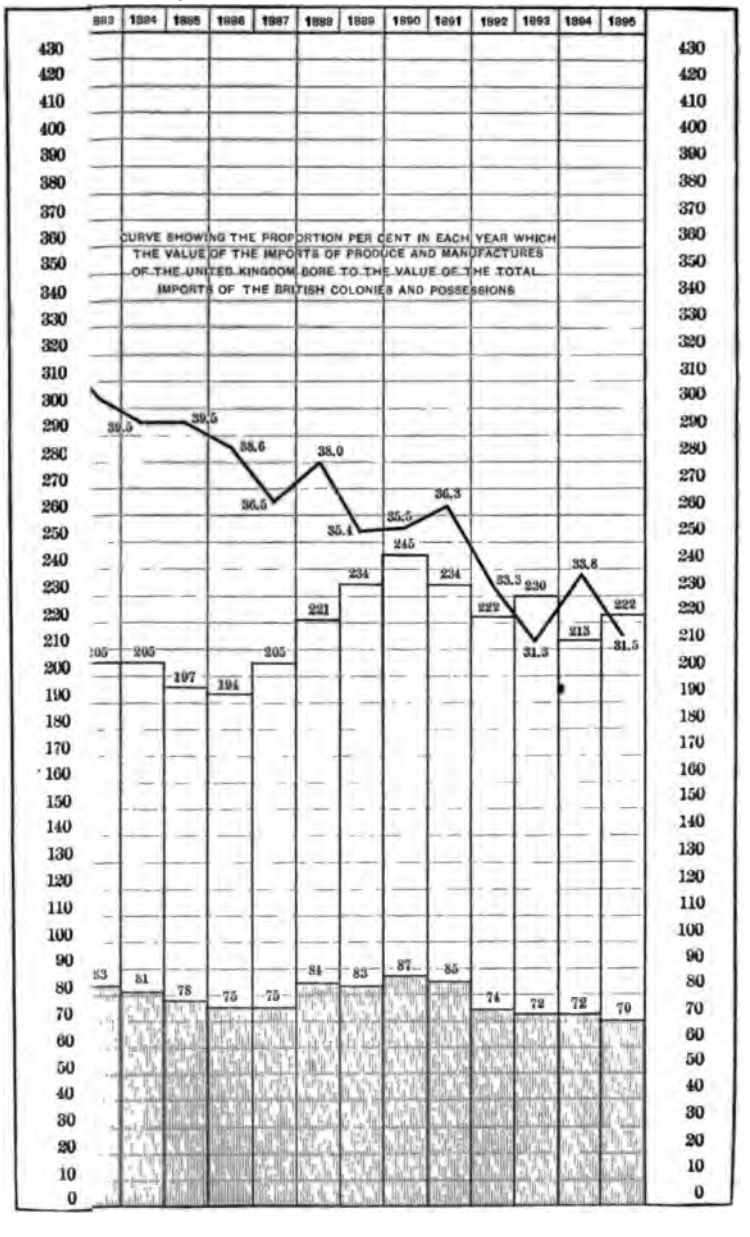
Pounds Sterling *Diagram 4*

the

h Colonies and Possessions

nports of the Produce and Manufactures

ed Kingdom



or to 2.66 times the earlier value, and that the imports of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom increased from 39,000,000 of pounds to 72,000,000, or to only 1.84 times their earlier value.

Here again is to be observed the growth of the commercial independence of the British Colonies and Possessions as a whole; but in this instance the development is slower on account of the remarkable productive efficiency of the United Kingdom.

Calculated on the average of four-year periods the percentage borne by the value of the imports of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom to the value of the total imports of the British Colonies and Possessions was as follows: 1856–59, 46.5%; 1860–63, 41.1%; 1864–67, 38.9%; 1868–71, 39.8%; 1872–75, 43.6%; 1876–79, 41.7%; 1880–83, 42.8%; 1884–87, 38.5%; 1888–91, 36.3%; 1892–95, 32.4%.

The figures for 1896 and 1897 show a slight increase in the percentage, compared with 1895, being 34.5% and 32.1% for 1896 and 1897 respectively.

Diagrams 5 and 6 relate to the trade between the United Kingdom and the United States, and they are introduced here in order that we may determine the relative importance to the United

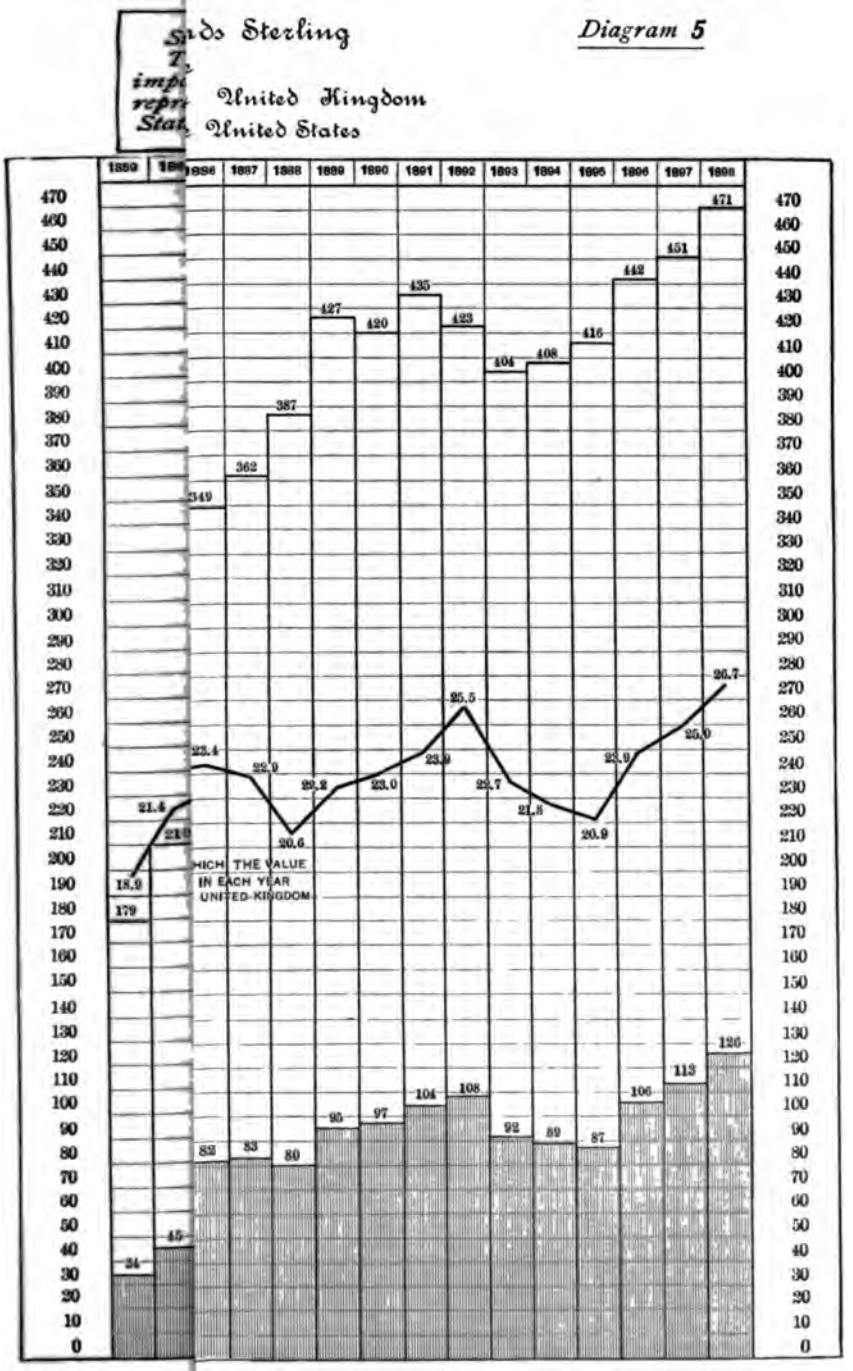
Kingdom of her trade with the British Colonies and Possessions and of her trade with the United States.

In diagram 5 the value of the total imports into the United Kingdom for each of the years 1859–98 is shown, together with the value in each year of the imports from the United States.

For the purpose of observing the growth of the English imports from the United States we must disregard the figures in the diagram prior to 1870, as they show the effect, in a very marked degree, of the American Civil War. Taking the average of the four-year period 1870–73 and the average of the four-year period 1895–98, we see that the value of the total imports into the United Kingdom increased from 339,000,000 of pounds to 445,000,000 and that the imports from the United States increased from 59,000,000 of pounds to 108,000,000; in other words, the value of the imports from the United States increased to 1.83 times the earlier value, whilst the value of the total imports of the United Kingdom only increased to 1.31 times their earlier value.

Calculated on the average of four-year periods, the percentage borne by the value of the imports from the United States to the value of the total imports of the United Kingdom was as follows: 1859–62, 18.7%; 1863–66, 9.6%; 1867–70, 15.1%;

*Diagram 5*



ds Sterling
United Kingdom
United States
1859
1886
1887
1888
1889
1890
1891
1892
1893
1894
1895
1896
1897
1898
HICH THE VALUE
IN EACH YEAR
UNITED KINGDOM
179
21.4
349
362
387
427
420
435
423
404
408
416
442
451
471
18.9
23.4
22.9
20.6
22.2
23.0
23.9
25.5
22.7
21.8
20.9
23.9
25.0
26.7
34
45
82
83
80
95
97
104
108
92
89
87
106
113
126

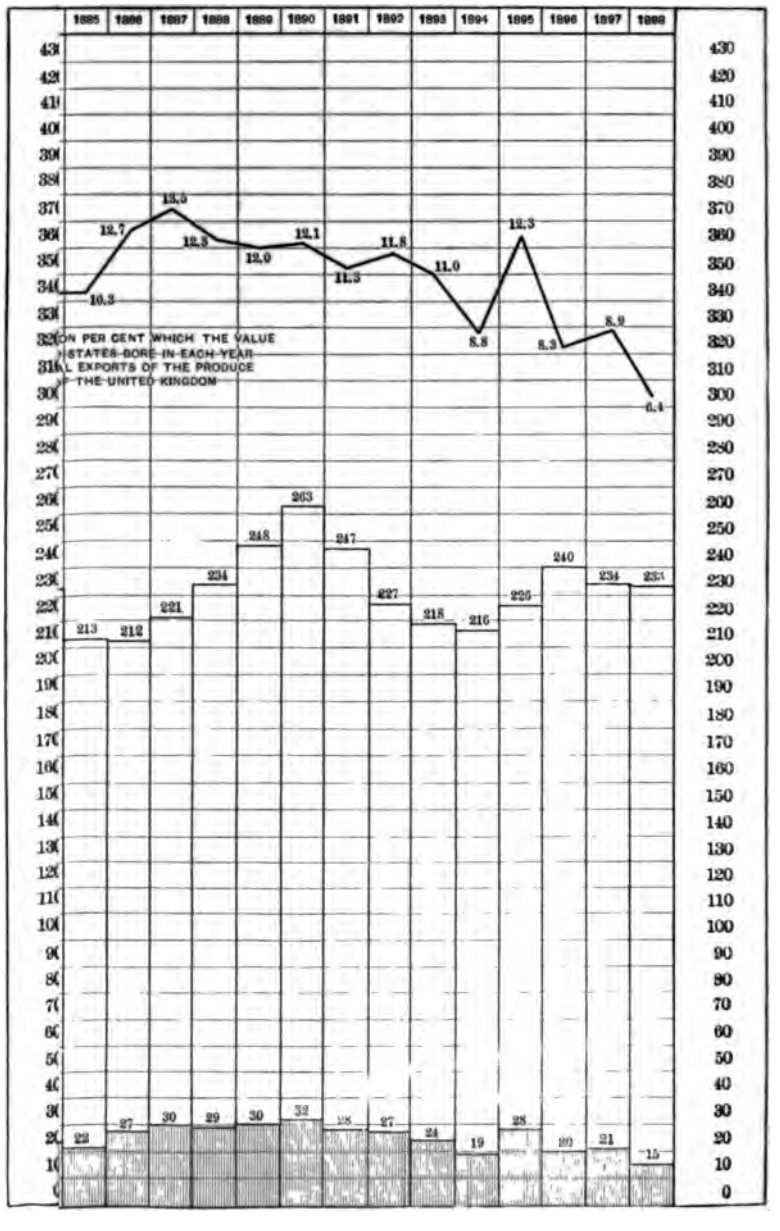
Pounds Sterling

*Diagram 6*

of the

Manufactures of the United Kingdom

e of the United States



1871–74, 18.1%; 1875–78, 20.6%; 1879–82, 24.6%; 1883–86, 22.9%; 1887–90, 22.2%; 1891–94, 23.5%; 1895–98, 24.1%.

Diagram 6 shows the value of the total exports of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom, and the value of this class of exports which went to the United States in each year from 1859 to 1898. It will be seen that the United States is not a very important customer for English goods. This fact is to be attributed to the high productive efficiency of the United States and to the American tariff regulations. Whereas both these causes contribute to the determination of the amount of imports into the United States from England, it remains an interesting question as to how far the causes themselves are interdependent. A discussion of the point would be out of place, however, in the present volume.

Calculated on the average of four-year periods, the percentage borne by the value of the exports of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom to the United States to the value of the total exports of this class from the United Kingdom was as follows: 1859–62, 13.0%; 1863–66, 12.0%; 1867–70, 12.5%; 1871–74, 14.0%; 1875–78, 8.5%; 1879–82, 12.4%; 1883–86, 11.1%; 1887–90, 12.4 %; 1891–94, 10.7%; 1895–98, 9.0%.

If we consider the figures relating to the British trade with the British Colonies and Possessions and those relating to British trade with the United States comparatively, several striking facts become apparent. Dealing first with the value of imports into the United Kingdom, it is to be observed that during the twenty years, 1878–97, the value of the imports from the United States exceeded the value of the imports from the whole British Empire in twelve years — 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1885, 1886, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1896, 1897; equalled the value of the imports from the British Colonies and Possessions in one year — 1883; and was less than the value of the imports from the British Colonies and Possessions in only seven years — 1882, 1884, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1894, and 1895.

The value of the imports into the United Kingdom from the British Colonies and Possessions during the twenty years, 1878–97, reached a total sum of £1,825,000,000 sterling, and the value of the imports into the United Kingdom from the United States during the same period was £1,886,000,000 sterling, showing a preponderance of imports from the United States to the value of £61,000,000 sterling during the twenty years. Putting this roughly at $300,000,000

and distributing it evenly over the twenty years, it is seen that the United Kingdom has received each year since 1878, $15,000,000 worth more supplies from the United States than from her own Empire.

This fact is very significant; but its importance may be more readily appreciated if we include in our survey of the figures the population of the United States and of the British Colonial Empire and India. Sir Robert Giffen, one of the most eminent of English statisticians, in his address before the Royal Colonial Institute on "The Relative Growth of the Component Parts of the Empire," delivered on the 14th of February, 1899, placed the population of the British Colonies and Possessions at 366,800,000. His calculations practically cover the area to which the figures in my diagrams relate. If we place the number at 356,000,000, for the five-year period, 1893–97, it will be seen that the average imports during the five years, into the United Kingdom from the British Colonies and Possessions, reached a value of five shillings and two pence halfpenny ($1.25) per head of the population of those territories.

If the population of the United States be taken at 70,000,000 during 1893–97 and a similar calculation be made, we find that for each man,

woman, and child in the United States merchandise to the value of one pound seven shillings and ten pence ($6.68) was exported to the United Kingdom. Thus, man for man, the people of the United States were more than five times as valuable to the United Kingdom as a source of supply as the inhabitants of the British Colonies and Possessions.

If the figures relating to the exports of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom are examined with a view to determine the relative importance of the British Colonies and Possessions and of the United States as markets for British goods, it becomes at once apparent that the volume of the former trade is much greater than that of the latter. During the five years 1893–97 the value of the exports of Produce and Manufacturers of the United Kingdom to the British Colonies and Possessions averaged 76,000,000 pounds sterling yearly, and the value of such exports to the United States during the same period averaged only 22,000,000 pounds sterling yearly.

But if we introduce the element of population, we see that whilst the purchase of British goods per head in the British Colonies and Possessions represented four shillings and three pence ($1.02), the value of such purchases in the United States

reached a value of six shillings and three pence ($1.50) per head of the population of the United States; so that, notwithstanding the commercial independence of the United States and the tariff regulations, the people of the United States were, man for man, better customers of Great Britain than the people of her own Colonies and Possessions.

If we were to persevere no further in our inquiry, it would appear from the facts now before us, that so far from trade following the flag, in the sense of the trade under the flag being of more importance than foreign trade, England's trade with one single foreign nation is, in regard to imports, of greater importance than the trade with the whole of Greater Britain; whilst if we consider the direction and value of England's exports with relation to the size of the purchasing communities, we find that under present conditions an increase in the population of one foreign country (the United States) would be more profitable to England than an increase in the population of her own Colonies and Dependencies, taken as a whole.

Although it is scarcely pertinent to the present inquiry to examine the trade of England from any other standpoint than that implied in the

expression "Trade and Flag," it may be of some interest to the general reader to have set forth one more aspect of Great Britain's trade relations. The following figures will show the combined importance of England's trade with her Colonies and Possessions and with the United States as compared with her trade with all other countries:—

| *Imports into United Kingdom from Greater Britain and the United States.* | *Exports of Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom to Greater Britain and the United States.* |
|---|---|
| 1878 . . 45.2% of total imports. | 1878 . . 41.8% of total exports. |
| 1879 . . 47.0% " " | 1879 . . 42.3% " " |
| 1880 . . 48.3% " " | 1880 . . 47.5% " " |
| 1881 . . 48.8% " " | 1881 . . 46.5% " " |
| 1882 . . 45.2% " " | 1882 . . 48.0% " " |
| 1883 . . 46.2% " " | 1883 . . 45.7% " " |
| 1884 . . 46.3% " " | 1884 . . 45.0% " " |
| 1885 . . 45.7% " " | 1885 . . 46.9% " " |
| 1886 . . 46.6% " " | 1886 . . 48.0% " " |
| 1887 . . 46.1% " " | 1887 . . 47.4% " " |
| 1888 . . 43.0% " " | 1888 . . 48.1% " " |
| 1889 . . 44.9% " " | 1889 . . 45.4% " " |
| 1890 . . 45.8% " " | 1890 . . 45.1% " " |
| 1891 . . 46.6% " " | 1891 . . 45.7% " " |
| 1892 . . 48.4% " " | 1892 . . 44.4% " " |
| 1893 . . 45.2% " " | 1893 . . 44.0% " " |
| 1894 . . 44.8% " " | 1894 . . 42.1% " " |
| 1895 . . 43.7% " " | 1895 . . 43.2% " " |
| 1896 . . 44.9% " " | 1896 . . 43.3% " " |
| 1897 . . 45.8% " " | 1897 . . 43.0% " " |

We have up to this point considered the British Colonies and Possessions as a whole: it now becomes necessary to make an important differentiation, in order that we may understand the bearing of our figures on tropical colonization.

Dividing the British Colonies and Possessions into two classes, tropical and non-tropical, and examining the figures relating to the trade of the United Kingdom conformably with this division, we get the following results:—

*Value of Imports into the United Kingdom from the British Colonies and Possessions.*

| | 1893 | 1894 | 1895 | 1896 | 1897 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| From Tropics . | 48,551,496 | 49,145,310 | 48,766,843 | 47,361,221 | 45,117,806 |
| Other Colonies . | 43,217,958 | 44,766,856 | 46,763,367 | 45,846,808 | 48,901,127 |
| | 91,769,454 | 93,912,166 | 95,530,210 | 93,208,029 | 94,018,933 |

I have included in "Other Colonies" only Australasia, Canada, and Newfoundland. The Cape of Good Hope is included among the tropical colonies, for although it actually lies outside the tropics, it feeds a large hinterland which is in the tropics. By placing it among the tropical colonies their commercial importance appears to better advantage; and consequently in the differentiation we are now making the figures are

liberal rather than otherwise in regard to the tropical colonies.

If we take the population of Australasia, Canada, and Newfoundland at 9,500,000 during the five-year period under review, and that of the other British Colonies and Possessions at 346,500,000, and take the average value of the imports from the two classes of colonies during the years 1893–97, we can form a fairly close estimate of the value of the two classes of colonies as sources of supply for the United Kingdom. Working on a *per capita* basis, and introducing the figures relating to the United States[1] for the sake of comparison, we get the following striking results: —

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Value of exports per capita from the British non-tropical colonies to the United Kingdom | £4 16 7 | = $23.18 |
| Value of exports per capita from the United States to the United Kingdom | £1 7 10 | = $6.68 |
| Value of exports per capita from the British tropical colonies to the United Kingdom | £0 2 9 | = $0.66 |

Scarcely less significant are the figures relating to the exports of produce and manufactures of the United Kingdom. Pursuing the same method of inquiry as that adopted in regard to the imports into the United Kingdom, we find: —

[1] The population of the United States for the period 1893–97 is taken at 70,000,000.

*Value of Exports of Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom to British Colonies and Possessions.*

| | 1893 | 1894 | 1895 | 1896 | 1897 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| To Tropics . . | 49,854,421 | 50,432,687 | 47,313,075 | 56,465,656 | 53,887,988 |
| To other Colonies | 22,295,742 | 22,355,858 | 22,884,219 | 27,671,281 | 26,787,075 |
| | 72,150,163 | 72,788,545 | 70,197,294 | 84,136,937 | 80,675,063 |

From these figures we obtain the following, the figures relating to the United States being introduced for comparison:—

Value per capita of British Produce imported into non-tropical colonies . . £2 11 4 = $12.32
Value per capita of British Produce imported into the United States . . £0 6 3 = $1.50
Value per capita of British Produce imported into the tropical colonies . . £0 2 11½ = $0.71

The calculations are necessarily only approximately correct; but as the figures relating to the tropical Colonies and Possessions of the United Kingdom certainly err on the side of liberality we may safely draw some general conclusions from our premises.

The first point which may be noticed is the absurdity of discussing, as has been done recently in innumerable magazine and newspaper articles, the British Colonial Empire as though its com-

ponent parts were homogeneous and presented on the whole problems of some degree of similarity. In the endless discussions which have been published in the United States in regard to the acquisition of Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands no argument has been so persistently thrust forward as the profit derived by Great Britain from her Colonial Empire in the way of trade.

But what does this, in fact, amount to? It was necessary in dealing with the import and export trade of the United Kingdom to include all the British Colonies and Possessions in our calculations; and we found when working on that basis that the United States was absolutely more important to Great Britain as a source of supply than the whole of Greater Britain, and in the matter of a market for British merchandise more important relatively. It is true that when we compare the United States with the non-tropical colonies of Great Britain alone we see that those colonies are relatively more important than the United States; but if we turn back to diagrams 2 and 4 we observe that the trade between the United Kingdom and all her Colonies and Possessions is not increasing at the same rate as the total trade of those Colonies and Possessions,

but tends, in a marked degree, to assume a smaller relative proportion from year to year.

It is not convenient to multiply the diagrams in this volume, or it might be shown in detail that the tendency for Great Britain to secure less of the trade of her Colonies and Possessions as time passes is much more strongly marked in the case of her non-tropical Colonies and Possessions than in the case of those in the tropics. In other words, whilst England's poorest customers, those who trade with her to the amount of $1.37 a year, do not show much inclination to desert her, the rich customers, those who trade with her to the amount of $35.50 a year, exhibit an alarming tendency to seek their markets away from the flag and to make their purchases from foreigners.

I think it may safely be concluded from the figures before us up to this point that the flag has very little influence on trade. In the non-tropical colonies whatever slight advantage might be attributable to the flag is fast disappearing, and in the tropical colonies the trade is so small relatively that an increase of thirty persons in their population is less profitable to the United Kingdom than an increase of one person in the population of Australasia or Canada.

Sub-tropical countries, those which, roughly speaking, lie between 25° and 35° North and 25° and 35° South, offer a better hope of commercial development than do the tropical countries; but there is little immediate prospect of any considerable improvement even in these regions. In any case, unless some extraordinary change takes place in the policy of the Great Powers, sub-tropical countries will not be thrown open to colonization, and they need not, therefore, be considered here. Colonial enterprise must find its outlet from this time forward in the tropics; and it is from this fact that the figures given above derive their chief significance.

There remain two points only to be considered in this chapter — the colonial trade of France, and the influence of nationality, as opposed to possession, on the direction of trade.

Diagram 7 presents an analysis of French trade during the twenty years 1877–96. It is interesting to note that this diagram is made to the same scale as the diagrams referring to the trade of the United Kingdom; as, by comparing the French and English diagrams, a striking view is afforded of the commercial efficiency of the two nations, each having a population of about thirty-eight millions. It must be remembered, however,

that whilst the figures relating to exports afford a basis for an absolute comparison, those relating to imports do not cover the same ground; for the French figures relate only to the value of imports for home consumption, whilst the value of the English imports includes that of merchandise intended for export.

As in the case of the United Kingdom, so in regard to France, an increase of territory covered by the colonial figures is to be noted. In 1877 the French Colonies and Possessions included in the import side of diagram 7 are: Algeria, Saint-Pierre, Réunion, and Martinique; in 1884, Tunis, Senegal, French Guinea, Guadeloupe, French India, and French Indo-China are added; and in 1886, French Oceania. On the export side of diagram 7 the French Colonies and Possessions included in the figures of 1877 are: Algeria, Réunion, Martinique, and Guadeloupe; in 1884, Senegal, French Guinea, Saint-Pierre, and Miquelon, French Guiana, French Indo-China, and French Oceania are added; and in 1886, Tunis.

It will be seen on consulting diagram 7 that the colonial trade of France is not very important, and that it forms but a small percentage of the total special trade of France. It shows a steady increase, both absolutely and relatively in

recent years, and there is every indication that this increase will be maintained. The value of the special imports into France from the French Colonies and Possessions has risen from 191,000,000 of francs in 1877, to 354,000,000 in 1896, or has very nearly doubled itself, whilst the proportion to the value of the total special imports has increased from 5.2% to 9.3%.

Dividing the twenty years, 1877 to 1896, into five four-year periods, we find that the proportion per cent borne by the value of the special imports into France from the French Colonies and Possessions to the value of the total special imports of France has been as follows: 1877–80, 4.3%; 1881–84, 3.9%; 1885–88, 6.7%; 1889–92, 8.0%; 1893–96, 9.5%.

The value of the exports of the Produce and Manufactures of France to the French Colonies and Possessions has risen from 171,000,000 of francs in 1877 to 339,000,000 in 1896, or has nearly doubled, whilst the percentage of colonial exports to the total exports has risen from 4.9% to 9.9%.

Dividing the years 1877–96 into four-year periods, we find that the proportion borne by the value of the exports of the Produce and Manufactures of France to the French colonies to the

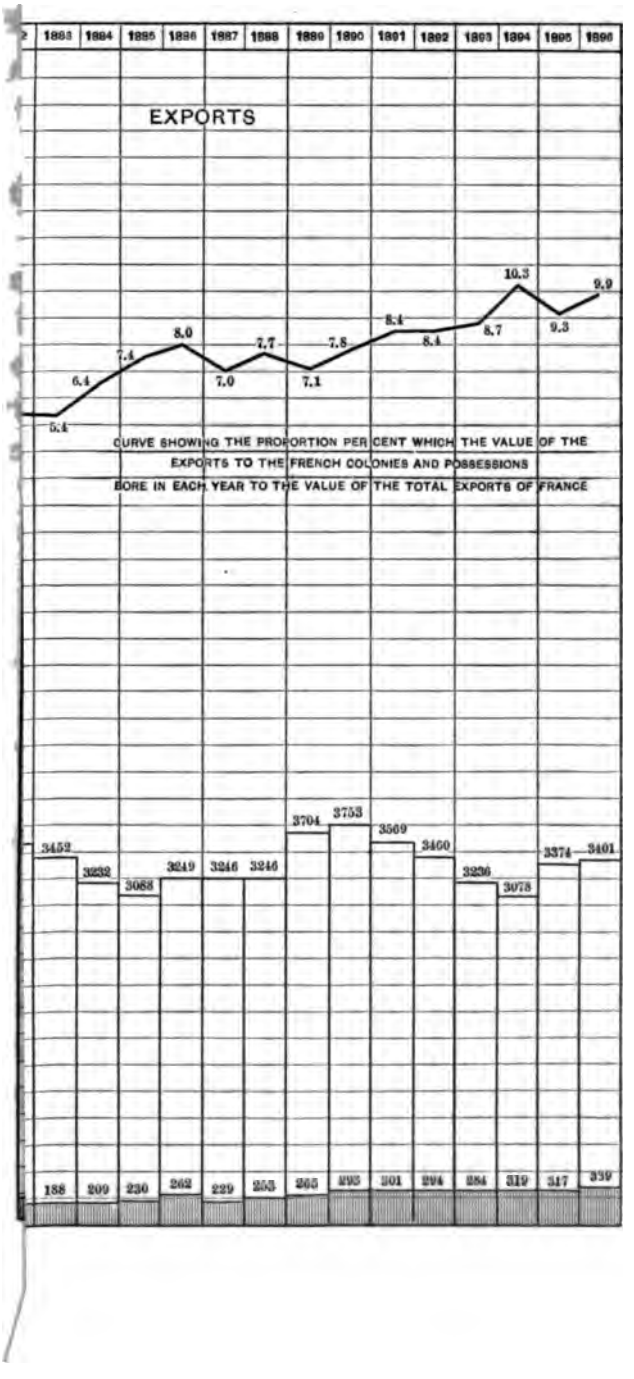
in Francs

*Diagram 7*

: the

Export Trade of France

nch Colonies and Possessions



value of the total exports of this class has been: 1877–80, 5.2%; 1881–84, 5.6%; 1885–88, 7.5%; 1889–92, 7.9%; 1893–96, 9.5%.

The tables on page 118 show the trade of some of the French colonies during 1897, the figures being taken from the *Revue Coloniale* for March, 1899. It will be seen that both as regards their imports and their exports the colonies included in the table do a greater trade with foreign countries than with France and the French colonies, and this despite the stringent trade regulations enforced by the French Government.

It is amusing, and at the same time instructive, to observe the methods adopted by France for the development of her colonial trade. The British Government published in January, 1899, a Blue-book on the subject of the action of French officials in Madagascar; and a brief account of the circumstances related therein may be given here as evidence of the desperate efforts which are being made by France to overcome the commercial superiority of England by means of restrictive regulations governing local trade.

It appears that in 1890 the French Ambassador to England asked that the British Government should recognize the French Protectorate of Madagascar. This Great Britain consented to

## Trade of some of the French Colonies in 1897.

| | *Value of Imports in Francs.* | | | *Value of Exports in Francs.* | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | From France and French Colonies. | From Foreign Countries. | Total. | | To France and French Colonies. | To Foreign Countries. | Total. |
| Martinique . . . | 11,497,929 | 9,990,309 | 21,488,238 | Martinique . . | 18,169,698 | 1,146,905 | 19,316,603 |
| Guadeloupe . . | 9,678,008 | 8,766,766 | 18,444,774 | Guadeloupe . . | 16,152,745 | 155,031 | 16,307,776 |
| Réunion . . . . | 16,032,233 | 5,629,450 | 21,661,683 | Réunion . . . | 18,051,235 | 431,293 | 18,482,528 |
| French Guiana . | 6,798,327 | 2,628,952 | 9,427,279 | French Guiana | 7,005,519 | 226,795 | 7,232,314 |
| French India . | 764,006 | 2,887,005 | 3,651,011 | French India . | 4,100,678 | 10,877,179 | 14,977,857 |
| New Caledonia | 5,836,660 | 3,972,576 | 9,809,236 | New Caledonia | 3,332,785 | 3,712,239 | 7,045,024 |
| Tahiti . . . . . | 391,000 | 3,354,138 | 3,745,138 | Tahiti . . . . | 311,035 | 2,839,632 | 3,150,667 |
| French Indo-China . . . . | 45,294,222 | 63,799,235 | 109,093,457 | French Indo-China . . . | 16,149,760 | 103,804,200 | 119,953,906 |
| Sénégal . . . . | 16,986,339 | 12,193,598 | 29,179,937 | Sénégal . . . . | 16,105,467 | 5,031,184 | 21,136,651 |
| French Guinea | 1,225,147 | 6,412,928 | 7,638,075 | French Guinea | 675,954 | 6,049,322 | 6,725,276 |
| French Ivory Coast . . . . | 703,099 | 3,990,729 | 4,693,828 | French Ivory Coast . . . . | 2,243,428 | 2,475,231 | 4,718,659 |
| Dahomey . . . | 2,838,208 | 5,404,748 | 8,242,956 | Dahomey . . . | 1,527,684 | 4,251,172 | 5,778,856 |
| | 118,045,178 | 129,030,434 | 247,075,612 | | 103,825,934 | 141,000,183 | 244,826,117 |

do, provided that "the establishment of the Protectorate will not effect any rights or immunities enjoyed by British subjects in that island." An agreement to this effect was signed by the French Ambassador on behalf of his government. The rights especially referred to in the agreement were those secured to British trade by a treaty between the Queen of Madagascar and the British Government under the terms of which Great Britain was granted the rights of "the most favored nation," and was solemnly assured that import duties on British merchandise should never exceed 10% *ad valorem.*

During 1894 and 1895, when France was at war with Madagascar, England, placing confidence in the agreement with the French Government referred to above, observed a strict neutrality, and, at the earnest request of the French Ambassador, refrained from issuing a Declaration of Neutrality which would have amounted to a recognition of the belligerency of the people of Madagascar. At the conclusion of the war, Madagascar became, to all intents and purposes, a French colony. France immediately raised the tariff on British merchandise till, in 1897, the import duty on gray sheetings, the most important article imported from England, amounted to an *ad valorem* tax of 45%.

In December, 1898, the duty was still further increased, until it reached 56% *ad valorem*.

Thus far the facts are merely instructive; they now become amusing. Not contented with shutting out British goods by means of a prohibitory tariff, imposed in defiance of an express agreement, the administrator of Mananjary, a district on the Southeast coast of Madagascar, called a meeting of native traders, and told them that if they bought goods from other than certain French firms, which he named, he would put them in jail.

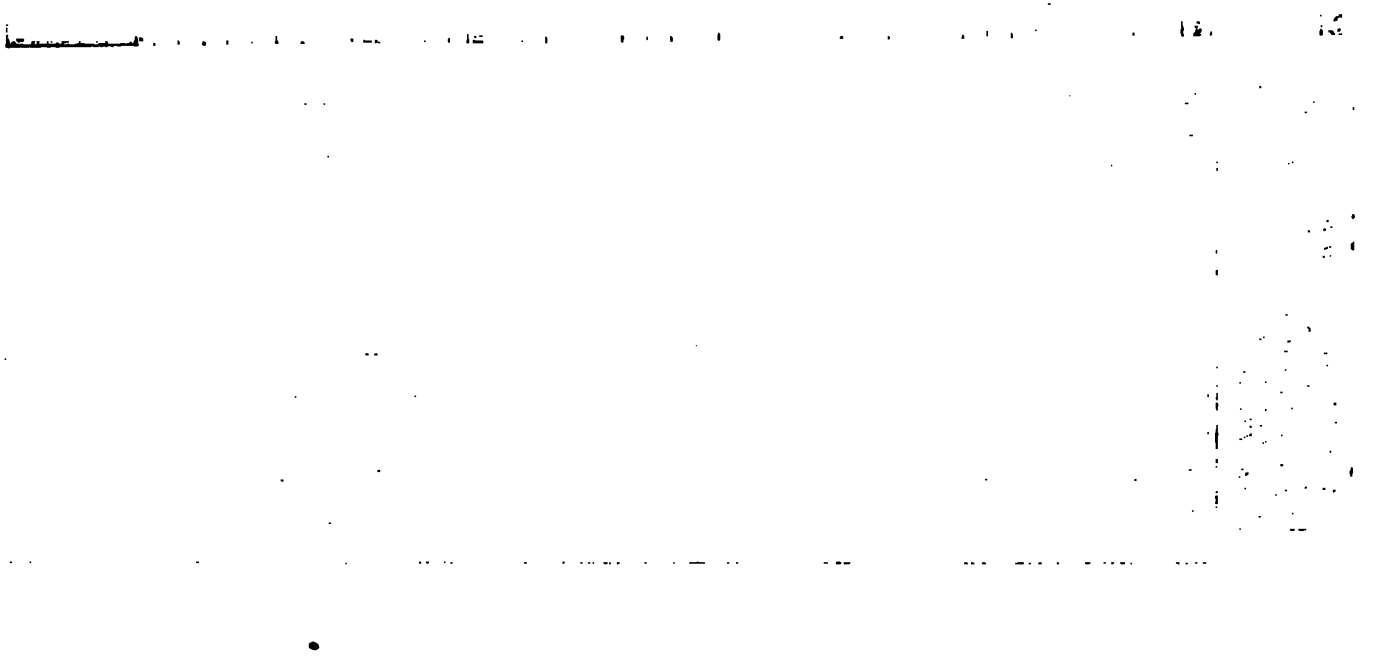
This having come to the ears of the British Consul, he lodged a complaint with the Governor-General of the island, who after a time wrote denying the alleged facts. Shortly afterward the administrator of Mananjary called another meeting of native traders, on which occasion he said: "On the 28th of January I sent for you to a 'kabary,' and you have been going about telling what I said. Now I told you what I said on that occasion was private. I don't know what there is to prevent me putting you all in jail or expelling you from my province. In future, if you repeat what I say, I shall do so. What I am going to say to you to-day is private; there are twelve of you here, and if my words get about I shall stick you all in jail, or I shall expel you. I am master

of the province. You must obey me. I don't wish to see any but French goods in your places. You all well understand."

The Governor-General of the island was not far behind the administrator of Mananjary in his efforts to push French goods, for he authorized the publication in the local *Official Gazette* of pictures of French trademarks together with explanations of the excellence of French goods. The following is an extract from the *Official Gazette* of Madagascar of April 1, 1898: "You have been deceived several times by people who have told you that French merchandises are valueless goods and very dear. It was those people who are jealous who made this false statement to you, because, as every one knows, the French goods are the best. Please look at the above picture. These are the French cottons bearing the following marks, 'Liberté,' 'Tirailleur Malagache,' 'Cuirassier.' The above-mentioned goods are not only of good quality, but are strong and cheap. All explanations can be read in this number of the *Vaovao*. When the people see you Malagasy, who have recently become French people, buying these cottons, they will know that you are really faithful sons of France, and that you are true in your hearts to her."

Here, then, we have a very important factor in regard to trade and the flag, for it may be said that the flag, or possession, will save the nation's trade from oppressive restrictions like those just referred to. It is not too much to say that were India, Australasia, and other countries within the British Empire under the control of foreign nations, British trade with those parts of the world would suffer greatly. I imagine that few people realize the tremendous importance of this question — the trade restrictions imposed by various countries on the commerce of other nations. Trade restrictions have been a cause of war from time immemorial. They remain to-day the greatest menace of the world's peace. It is the fear of trade restrictions which compels England to insist even to the point of war that the East shall not be entirely closed to her commerce, and which forces her to be ever ready against the day when the inevitable war shall come.

The last point to be dealt with in this chapter is the influence of nationality on trade. This is at the present day rather a curious than an important question. The matter is set forth in diagrams 8 and 9, which refer respectively to the trade of Jamaica and Mauritius. The two islands are similar in several respects. The population of



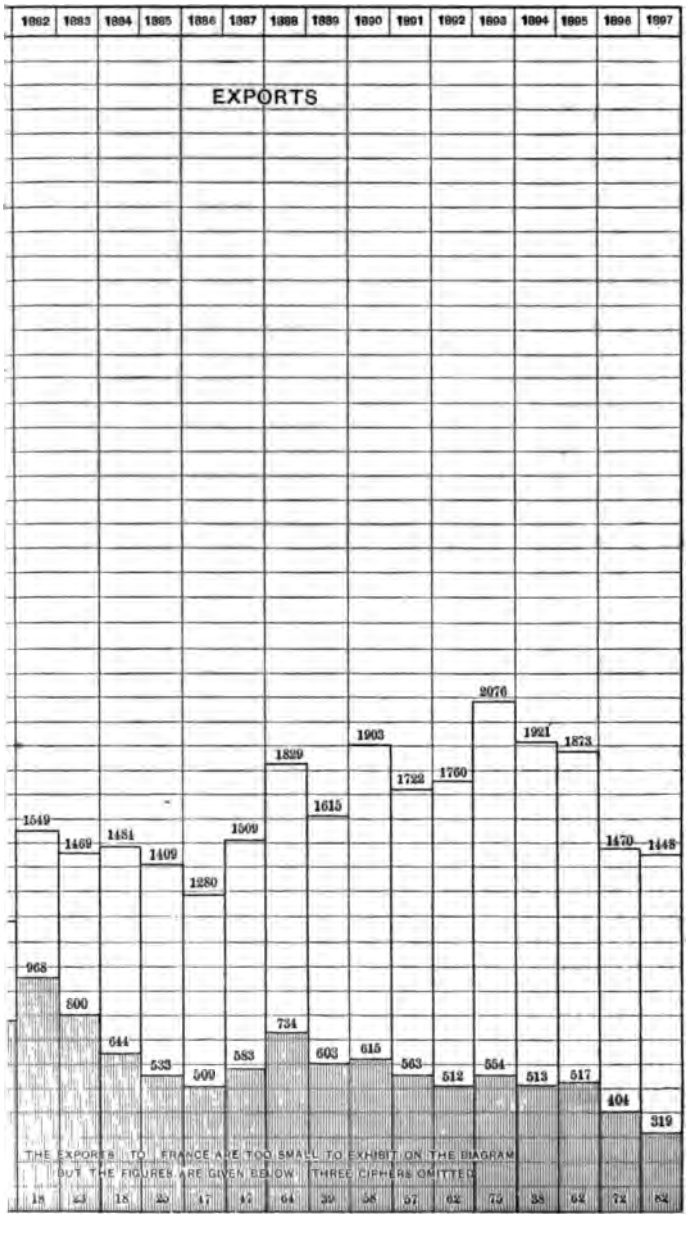
' in Pounds Sterling

of the

rts and Exports of Jamaica

year of the trade with France and England

*Diagram 8*



each is made up of negroes, East Indian coolies, and whites; and sugar is an important article of export from both islands; their climatic conditions are not dissimilar; both are English colonies. But there is one important difference between the two islands — Jamaica has been an English colony for more than two centuries, Mauritius for only eighty-five years.

Prior to 1814 Mauritius was a French colony; and an examination of diagrams 8 and 9 will serve to show the marked effect which the previous French occupation has had on the trade of the colony.

It is in comparing the import trade of Jamaica and Mauritius that we observe the effects of the French occupation of the latter island, in a marked demand for French goods, a demand which does not exist in Jamaica. If we divide the years 1878–97 into four five-year periods and work out the percentage borne by the value of French imports into Jamaica and Mauritius to the value of the total imports of those islands we get the following results: —

| | 1878–82 | 1883–87 | 1888–92 | 1893–97 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| JAMAICA. — Proportion of value of imports from France to value of total imports . . | 0.5% | 0.2% | 0.08% | 0.08% |
| MAURITIUS. — Proportion of value of imports from France to value of total imports . . . . . | 15.9% | 17.6% | 11.9% | 11.3% |

Expressed in another way, the percentage of French imports into Jamaica stood in ratio to the French imports into Mauritius as 1 to 31, in the period 1878–82; as 1 to 88, in 1883–87; as 1 to 148, in 1888–92; and as 1 to 141 in 1893–95.

It is quite clear that this extraordinary difference in trade is due to a taste for French goods, for the export trade of Jamaica and Mauritius to France are not greatly different in volume; in fact in recent years the exports from Jamaica to France have exceeded in value the exports from Mauritius to France.

### Summary

From the figures presented in this chapter we obtain the following facts: —

(1) The value of imports into the United Kingdom from the British Colonies and Possessions has increased during the past forty years at about the same rate as the value of the total imports of the United Kingdom. The value of the imports from the Colonies and Possessions forms about 23% of the value of the total imports of the United Kingdom.

(2) The value of exports of Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom to the British Colonies and Possessions has increased at about the same rate as the value of the total exports of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom during the past forty years; but there has been considerable variation in the ratio of the former trade to the latter from year to year. During the past twenty years the proportion borne by the value of the exports of Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom to

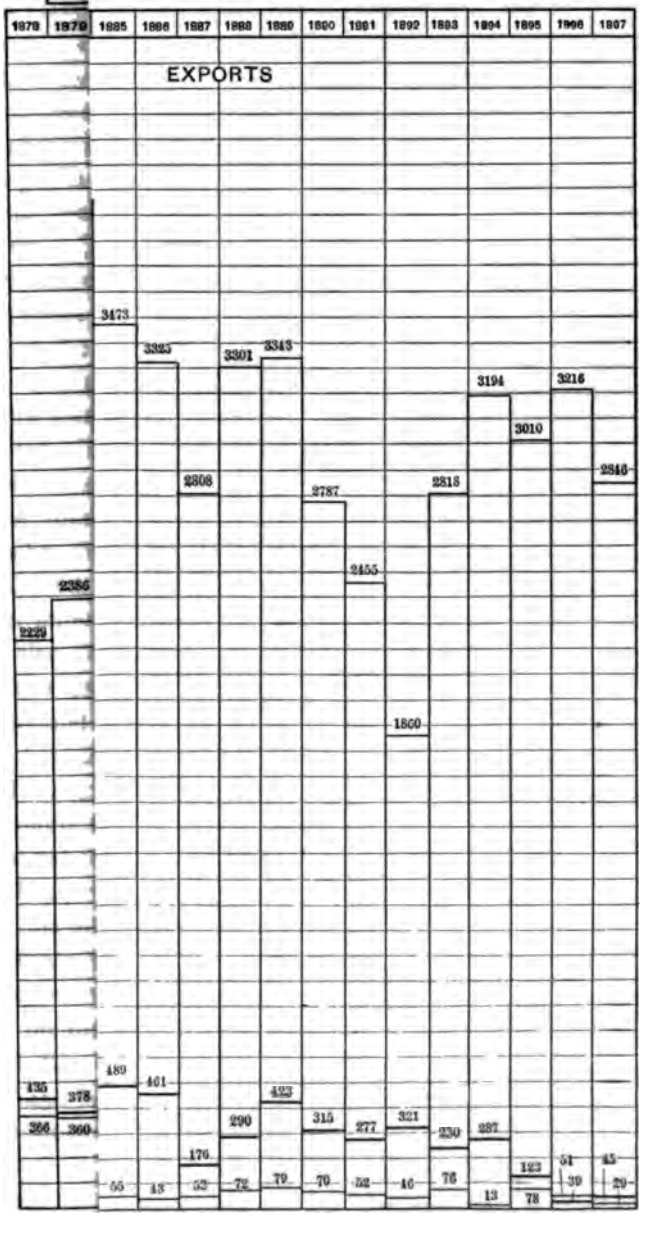
nds Sterling

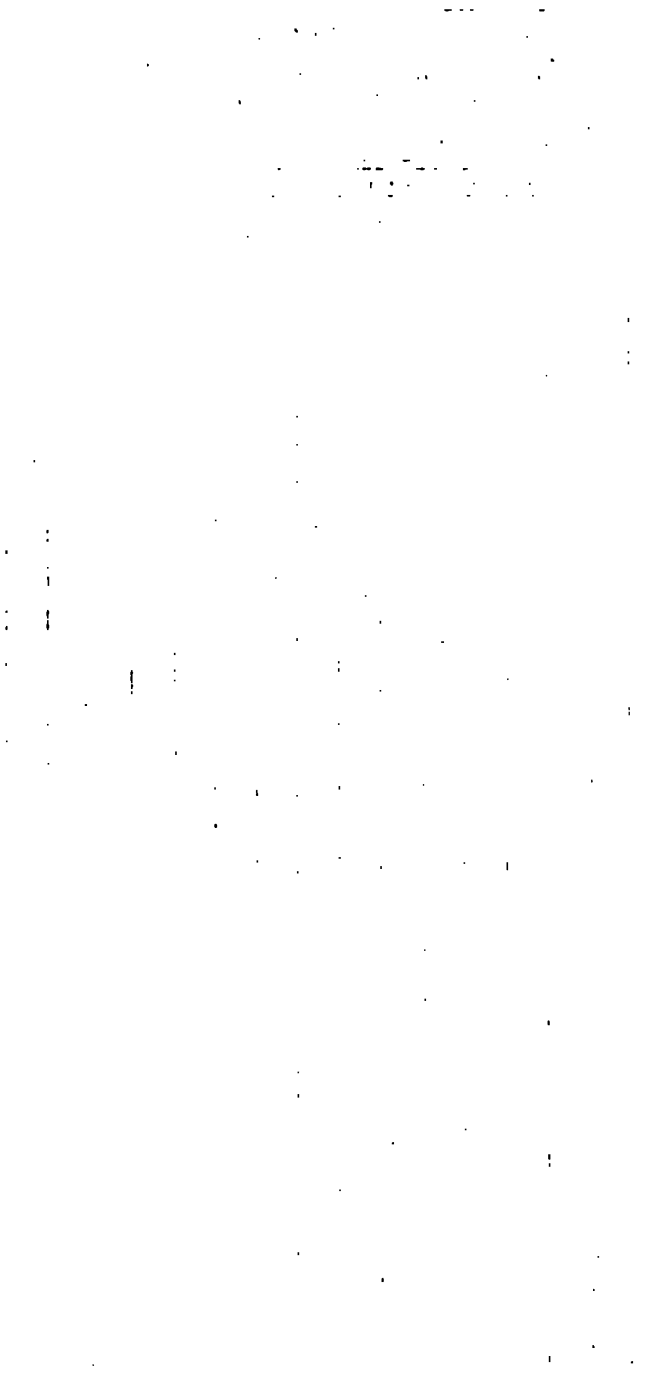
*Diagram 9*

e

ports of Mauritius

ne trade with France and England





the British Colonies and Possessions to the value of the total exports of this class has varied between 30.9% and 36.6%.

(3) The value of imports into the United Kingdom from the United States has increased at a greater rate than the value of the total imports of the United Kingdom. Taking the average of the years 1859, 1860, and 1861, the value of imports into the United Kingdom from the United States was £43,000,000 or 20.8% of the total; the average value for the years 1896, 1897, and 1898 was £115,000,000, or 25.2% of the total.

(4) The value of exports of Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom to the United States has not increased with the growth of the total value of such exports. In 1859 and 1860 the value of exports to the United States formed 17.6% and 16.2% of the total value of exports of Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom, whilst in 1897 and 1898 the proportion was 8.9% and 6.4% respectively.

(5) The total import trade of all the British Colonies and Possessions has increased at a much greater rate than the imports from the United Kingdom. For the years 1856, 1857, and 1858 the value of imports from the United Kingdom formed 44.9% of the total value of imports into all the British Colonies and Possessions; for 1895, 1896, and 1897 the proportion was 32.7%.

(6) The total exports of all the British Colonies and Possessions have increased at a much greater rate than the exports to the United Kingdom. For the years 1856, 1857, and 1858 the value of exports to the United Kingdom was 59.3% of the value of the total exports of the British Colonies and Possessions; for the years 1895, 1896, and 1897, the proportion was 35.8%.

(7) Of the total import trade of the United Kingdom during the past twenty years a yearly average of 45.9% was with the British Colonies and Possessions and the United States.

(8) Of the total exports of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom during the past twenty years a yearly average of 45.0% went to the British Colonies and Possessions and to the United States.

(9) The imports for home consumption into France from the French Colonies and Possessions are steadily increasing. In 1877, 1878, and 1879 the value of colonial imports was 4.5% of the value of the total imports into France for home consumption; in 1894, 1895, and 1896 the proportion was 10.1%.

(10) The exports of Produce and Manufactures of France to the French Colonies and Possessions are steadily increasing. In 1877, 1878, and 1879 the value of French exports to French Possessions was 5.1% of the value of the total exports of Produce and Manufactures of France; in 1894, 1895, and 1896 the proportion was 9.8%.

(11) The French occupation of Mauritius prior to 1814 has had a marked effect on the trade of that island. If we compare the import trade of Jamaica with the import trade of Mauritius, we see that during the past twenty years the imports from France into the former island have formed less than one-tenth of one per cent annually, whilst of the imports of the latter island about 15% have come from France annually.

(12) The United Kingdom is as dependent to-day as she has been at any time during the past forty years on the British Colonies and Possessions as a source of supply.

(13) The United Kingdom is as dependent to-day as she has been at any time during the past forty years on the British Colonies and Possessions as markets for her goods.

(14) The British Colonies and Possessions are establishing their commercial independence of the United Kingdom, for,

(*a*) The United Kingdom is receiving a lesser proportion of their exports from year to year.

(*b*) The United Kingdom is sending them a lesser proportion of their imports from year to year.

(15) During the past twenty years the United States has been more important to the United Kingdom as a source of supply than the whole of the British Empire.

(16) Taking the British Empire as a whole (exclusive of the

| | 1879 | 1880 | 1881 | 1882 | 1883 | 1884 | 1885 | 1886 | 1887 | 1888 | 1889 | 1890 | 1891 | 1892 | 1893 | 1894 | 1895 | 1896 | 1897 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 363 | 411 | 397 | 413 | 427 | 390 | 371 | 349 | 362 | 387 | 427 | 420 | 435 | 423 | 404 | 408 | 416 | 442 | 451 |
| | 79 | 92 | 91 | 99 | 99 | 95 | 84 | 81 | 84 | 87 | 97 | 96 | 99 | 97 | 91 | 94 | 95 | 93 | 94 |
| *IMPORT UNITED K | 21.7 | 22.3 | 22.9 | 23.9 | 23.1 | 24.3 | 22.6 | 23.2 | 23.2 | 22.4 | 22.7 | 22.8 | 22.7 | 22.9 | 22.5 | 23.0 | 22.8 | 21.0 | 20.8 |
| | 92 | 107 | 103 | 88 | 99 | 86 | 86 | 82 | 83 | 80 | 95 | 97 | 104 | 106 | 92 | 89 | 87 | 106 | 113 |
| | 25.3 | 26.0 | 25.9 | 21.3 | 23.1 | 22.0 | 23.1 | 23.4 | 22.9 | 20.6 | 22.2 | 23.0 | 23.9 | 25.5 | 22.7 | 21.8 | 20.9 | 23.9 | 25.0 |
| | 191 | 223 | 234 | 241 | 240 | 233 | 213 | 212 | 221 | 234 | 248 | 263 | 247 | 227 | 218 | 216 | 226 | 240 | 254 |
| | 61 | 75 | 79 | 85 | 83 | 81 | 78 | 75 | 75 | 84 | 83 | 87 | 85 | 74 | 72 | 72 | 70 | 84 | 80 |
| *EXPORT UNITED K | 31.9 | 33.6 | 33.7 | 35.2 | 34.5 | 34.7 | 36.6 | 35.3 | 33.9 | 35.8 | 33.4 | 33.0 | 34.4 | 32.6 | 33.0 | 33.3 | 30.9 | 35.0 | 34.1 |
| | 20 | 31 | 30 | 31 | 27 | 24 | 22 | 27 | 30 | 29 | 30 | 32 | 28 | 27 | 24 | 19 | 28 | 20 | 21 |
| | 10.4 | 13.9 | 12.8 | 12.8 | 11.2 | 10.3 | 10.3 | 12.7 | 13.5 | 12.3 | 12.0 | 12.1 | 11.3 | 11.8 | 11.0 | 8.8 | 12.3 | 8.3 | 8.9 |
| | 165 | 185 | 193 | 202 | 212 | 204 | 195 | 194 | 204 | 222 | 235 | 239 | 257 | 254 | 254 | 257 | 262 | 257 | 266 |
| *EXPORTS BRITISH C AND POSS | 79 | 92 | 91 | 99 | 99 | 95 | 84 | 81 | 84 | 87 | 97 | 96 | 99 | 97 | 91 | 94 | 95 | 93 | 94 |
| | 47.8 | 49.7 | 47.1 | 49.0 | 46.6 | 46.5 | 42.8 | 41.7 | 41.1 | 39.1 | 41.2 | 40.1 | 38.5 | 38.1 | 35.8 | 36.5 | 36.2 | 36.1 | 35.3 |
| | 159 | 167 | 180 | 201 | 205 | 205 | 197 | 194 | 205 | 221 | 234 | 245 | 234 | 222 | 230 | 213 | 222 | 243 | 249 |
| *IMPORT BRITISH C AND POSS | 61 | 75 | 79 | 85 | 83 | 81 | 78 | 75 | 75 | 84 | 83 | 87 | 85 | 74 | 72 | 72 | 70 | 84 | 80 |
| | 38.3 | 44.9 | 43.8 | 42.2 | 40.4 | 39.5 | 39.5 | 38.6 | 36.5 | 38.0 | 35.4 | 35.5 | 36.3 | 33.3 | 31.3 | 33.8 | 31.5 | 34.5 | 32.1 |
| | 4595 | 5033 | 4863 | 4821 | 4804 | 4343 | 4088 | 4208 | 4036 | 4107 | 4315 | 4436 | 4767 | 4188 | 3853 | 3850 | 3719 | 3798 | |
| §PECIAL I OF FR | 187 | 186 | 153 | 154 | 160 | 231 | 279 | 262 | 266 | 304 | 349 | 361 | 359 | 353 | 309 | 389 | 407 | 354 | |
| | 4.0 | 3.6 | 3.1 | 3.1 | 3.3 | 5.3 | 6.8 | 6.2 | 6.6 | 7.4 | 8.0 | 8.1 | 7.5 | 8.4 | 8.0 | 10.1 | 10.9 | 9.3 | |
| | 3231 | 3468 | 3561 | 3574 | 3452 | 3232 | 3088 | 3249 | 3246 | 3246 | 3704 | 3753 | 3569 | 3160 | 3236 | 3078 | 3374 | 3401 | |
| §PECIAL I OF FR | 172 | 202 | 194 | 199 | 188 | 209 | 230 | 262 | 229 | 253 | 265 | 293 | 301 | 294 | 284 | 319 | 317 | 339 | |
| | 5.3 | 5.8 | 5.4 | 5.5 | 5.4 | 6.4 | 7.4 | 8.0 | 7.0 | 7.7 | 7.1 | 7.8 | 8.4 | 8.4 | 8.7 | 10.3 | 9.3 | 9.9 | |
| | 1347 | 1475 | 1393 | 1322 | 1592 | 1549 | 1488 | 1326 | 1322 | 1696 | 1598 | 2155 | 1759 | 1941 | 2158 | 2192 | 2259 | 1856 | 1661 |
| †IMPOI JAM | 686 | 777 | 646 | 726 | 942 | 898 | 799 | 662 | 724 | 1049 | 884 | 1232 | 862 | 1001 | 1190 | 1105 | 1106 | 927 | 777 |
| | 10 | 8 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 4 | — | — | — | 5 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 2 |
| | 1358 | 1513 | 1179 | 1549 | 1469 | 1484 | 1409 | 1280 | 1509 | 1329 | 1615 | 1903 | 1722 | 1760 | 2076 | 1921 | 1873 | 1470 | 1448 |
| †EXPOI JAM | 994 | 1018 | 783 | 968 | 800 | 644 | 533 | 509 | 553 | 734 | 603 | 615 | 563 | 512 | 554 | 513 | 517 | 404 | 319 |
| | 18 | 23 | 17 | 18 | 23 | 18 | 25 | 47 | 47 | 64 | 39 | 58 | 57 | 62 | 75 | 38 | 62 | 72 | 82 |
| | 2386 | 2210 | 2506 | 2842 | 2792 | 2993 | 2305 | 2494 | 2387 | 2599 | 2822 | 2666 | 2598 | 3536 | 3398 | 3324 | 3095 | 3269 | 2751 |
| †IMPOI MAU | 378 | 384 | 537 | 733 | 884 | 692 | 453 | 595 | 627 | 550 | 709 | 709 | 665 | 956 | 660 | 756 | 585 | 741 | 665 |
| | 360 | 380 | 357 | 556 | 544 | 478 | 377 | 464 | 432 | 416 | 398 | 407 | 355 | 356 | 375 | 363 | 360 | 399 | 298 |
| | 3256 | 3656 | 3571 | 4019 | 3844 | 3963 | 3473 | 3325 | 2808 | 3301 | 3343 | 2787 | 2455 | 1860 | 2818 | 3194 | 3010 | 3416 | 2846 |
| †EXPOI MAU | 337 | 441 | 339 | 530 | 378 | 508 | 459 | 461 | 176 | 290 | 423 | 315 | 277 | 321 | 230 | 257 | 125 | 34 | 45 |
| | 49 | 127 | 83 | 72 | 62 | 64 | 55 | 43 | 53 | 72 | 70 | 70 | 52 | 46 | 76 | 13 | 78 | 54 | 29 |

United Kingdom) we find that, man for man, the people of the United States are better customers of the United Kingdom than the people of the British Empire, each American buying annually $1.50 worth of English goods and each colonial subject $1.02 worth.

(17) Dividing the British Colonies and Possessions into two classes — tropical and non-tropical — we find that the non-tropical colonies export to the United Kingdom, yearly, goods to the value of $23.18 per head of their population, and that the tropical colonies export to the United Kingdom, yearly, only 66 cents' worth of goods, per head of their population.

(18) The non-tropical colonies consume yearly, per head of their population, $12.32 worth of English goods, and the tropical colonies 71 cents' worth, per head of their population.

There is no evidence in the above facts, that trade follows the flag, in the sense that possession of a country produces any extraordinary development of trade between the dependency and the dominant country. On the other hand, where the alternative lies between possessing a given territory or allowing it to pass to the control of a nation which will erect formidable barriers against the trade of foreign states, possession is the only effective method of assuring a fair proportion of trade to the interested country.

The following table contains the figures given in the diagrams in a form suitable for convenient reference.

# CHAPTER IV

## THE EARLIER ASPECTS OF THE LABOR PROBLEM IN THE TROPICS

ALTHOUGH for the most part the labor systems of the tropics, which were in force prior to the early years of the present century, represent conditions which have entirely passed away and are not likely to recur, it is necessary in order to thoroughly understand the labor problem as it exists to-day, to examine with some degree of minuteness the circumstances which have led up to the conditions as we now find them, and which have created a question, the importance of which it would be impossible to overestimate. If we divide the history of nations into three periods, — the potamic, during which the people clung to the banks of the rivers; the thalassic, in which trade did not extend beyond the confines of inland seas or lakes; and the oceanic, in which the high seas became the highways of commerce, — it is at once apparent that in the potamic period there was no labor problem. The amount of labor during that period was measured by the

actual requirements of each individual of the tribe or nation; those who did not work died, and as there was no market for the sale of surplus produce, there was no incentive to do more than provide for the daily needs and for a winter supply of food. It can scarcely be said even that there was a labor problem in the thalassic period as far as the tropics were concerned. It is true that there was a considerable trade between the countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea; but we are not dealing with those countries. The labor problem in the tropics dates from the commencement of the oceanic period of tropical history, that is to say from the beginning of the sixteenth century. The New World was discovered by Columbus in 1492, but it was not until some years later that any attempt was made to work the mines of Cuba and Hayti, or to develop the agricultural resources of the West Indies. In 1503 the Casa de Contraction, a rudimentary colonial office, was established in Seville, and we may consider that the history of the West Indies entered the oceanic stage in that year.

The Spaniards found themselves at once confronted with the labor problem. For a while it did not prove difficult of solution. The inhabi-

tants of Cuba and Hayti were of gentle disposition. In writing of them to Ferdinand and Isabella, Columbus said, "They are a loving and uncovetous people, and so docile in all things, that I assure Your Highnesses I believe there is not a better people or a better country in the world. They love their neighbors as themselves, and they have the sweetest and gentlest way of talking in the world, and always with a smile."

Unlike the warlike inhabitants of the Windward Islands they offered little resistance to the aggression of the Spaniards, and were in consequence enslaved. They were treated with the greatest brutality, and hundreds of them committed suicide in order to escape from the continued ill-treatment of their oppressors. Thus it came about that the supply of laborers began to fail, and the Spanish settlers, finding that they could no longer get slaves to work in the mines and to plant the crops, began to desert Cuba and Hayti for Peru, where Pizarro was commencing his extraordinary career of conquest and plunder.

In order to induce the Spanish adventurers to remain in the islands the Spanish monarchs granted them leave to import negro slaves from Africa, and thus was commenced the slave-trade

which has so profoundly affected the history of the West Indies and the North American Continent. It is not necessary to enter into any description of the early days of West Indian slavery; we have traced its origin, and may now pass to the time immediately preceding its abolition, since the effect which it has exerted on the development of the West Indies may be as well determined in examining its later as its earlier characteristics, it being understood, of course, that the system, as we observe it in its closing days, was the result of gradual growth and was built up slowly on the foundation of its earlier conditions.

Evidence is not wanting that there has always been an impression in the minds of those who have not made a study of the question that a slave in the British colonies was the absolute property of his master, to be dealt with exactly as the latter might see fit, and that the negro slave had no rights which the white man was bound to respect.

This was very far from being the case. Even before there was any breath of a suggestion in England that slavery was a great and crying evil, the slaves were to a considerable extent protected by laws passed by the local legislatures with a

view to providing for their welfare. I imagine that there are few people to-day who will claim that the necessity for the abolition of slavery in the British colonies arose out of the ill-treatment to which the slaves were subjected by their masters. The abolition of slavery was, in fact, merely an inevitable step in the ethical development of Great Britain, which must have been taken even though it could have been proved that each slave was as fondly cared for as the only child of loving parents. Incidentally it may be said that apart from all other considerations the operation of economic laws would have brought slavery to an end almost as quickly as the popular clamor which did in reality lead to its abolition throughout the British dominions.

The Emancipation Act was passed in 1833, and it is interesting to note that up to within a very few years of that time, the highest legal authorities in England had refused to take the view that slavery was in itself an evil institution. As late as 1827, Lord Stowell, whose name is familiar to students as that of one of England's most learned judges, delivered judgment from the bench of the High Court of Admiralty in a case in which the point was raised as to whether a certain negro woman in the Island of Antigua

was the property of her master in the sense of being liable to mortgage or other lien. In this judgment Lord Stowell said: ". . . when it is cried out that *malus usus abolendus est*, it is first to be proved that, even in the consideration of England, the use of slavery is considered as *malus usus* in the colonies. Is that a *malus usus* which the Court of the King's Privy Council and the Courts of Chancery are every day carrying into full effect — in the one by appeal, and in the other by original causes; and all this enjoined and confirmed by statutes? Still less is it to be considered a *malus usus* in the colonies themselves, where it is the system of the state, and of every individual in it; and fifty years have passed without any authorized condemnation of it in England as a *malus usus* in the colonies. Slavery was a very favored introduction into the colonies; it was deemed a great source of the mercantile interest of the country, and was on that account largely considered by the mother country as a great source of its wealth and strength. Treaties were made on that account, and the colonies were compelled to submit to those treaties by this country. The system continued entire. Instead of being considered as *malus usus*, it was regarded as a

most eminent source of its riches and power. It was at a late period of the last century that it was condemned in England as an institution not fit to exist here, for reasons peculiar to our own condition. But it has been continued in our own colonies, favored and supported by our courts, which have liberally imparted to it their protection and encouragement. To such a system, while it is so supported, I rather feel it to be too strong to apply the maxim *malus usus abolendus est.*"

At the beginning of the present century slavery was a recognized institution in most of the British tropical colonies. There was no thought that a few years would see the system abolished; and all business was transacted on the theory that the slaves were the property of the master; and plantations were valued according to the number of slaves attached to them. The first blow to slavery in the British colonies was the bill passed by Parliament in 1807 making the slave-trade illegal. This in no way affected the institution as it existed in the colonies, but cut off the supply of negroes from Africa. It is not apparent that there was at this time any intention to abolish slavery, the object aimed at being the suppression of the traffic in slaves with the

attendant horrors of the middle passage. It was found that the penalties under the act of 1807 were not sufficient to prevent British subjects from engaging in the trade, and subsequent acts passed in 1811 and 1824 made the carrying of slaves first a felony punishable with fourteen years' penal servitude and then piracy punishable with transportation for life.

In the meanwhile steps were taken in the colonies for the amelioration of the condition of the slaves. I have before me the Slave Laws of Jamaica passed in 1816, and some of the provisions are interesting as affording a view of the legal restraints placed upon planters in their relations with the slaves. Under this law the slaves were entitled to one day free from labor in every fortnight in addition to every Sunday. If the slaves did not receive at least twenty-six such free days in a year, the owner was liable to a fine of £20. No sugar mills were to be worked between the hours of seven o'clock on Saturday night and five o'clock on Monday morning, under a penalty of £20. Owners of slaves were compelled to give each slave a plot of land for the growing of provisions, or else to supply each slave with food to the value of 3*s.* 8*d.* weekly, under a penalty of £50; and slave-owners who

failed to provide their slaves with proper and sufficient clothing, to the satisfaction of a justice of the peace, were liable to a fine of £100.

A statement on oath was required every year from each slave-owner in regard to the food and clothing supplied and the condition of the negroes' provision grounds.

If any slave-owner turned away a slave because of sickness, age, or infirmity, he became liable to a heavy fine and imprisonment in default of payment. The hours of labor for slaves in the field were fixed by law at a maximum of eleven and a half hours, except during crop time, and a penalty of £50 was attached to a breach of the law in this respect. Any person killing a slave was to suffer death, no alternative sentence being included in the law; and any person who cruelly whipped or otherwise maltreated a slave, or was in any way party to such an offence, was liable to a fine of £100 and imprisonment for twelve months.

In 1826 the law was amended in several respects. The right was conferred on the slaves of owning property. Carnal knowledge of a female slave under ten years of age and rape on any female slave were made punishable by death. In the case of any slave charged with a capital offence the parish in which the trial took place was compelled

to provide such slave with a legal adviser, the expense to fall on the parish funds.

In the other British slave colonies laws were in force similar to those of Jamaica. I need only give one more instance. An Order-in-Council dated November 2, 1831, was the basis of the slave law in British Guiana. Every owner or manager of slaves had to provide once a year "to each male slave of the age of fifteen years or upwards, one hat of chip, straw, or felt, or other more durable material, one cloth jacket, two cotton check shirts, two pairs of oznaburg trousers, one blanket, two pairs of shoes, one knife, and one razor. To every female slave of the age of thirteen or upwards, one chip or straw hat, two gowns or wrappers, two cotton check shifts, two oznaburg petticoats, two pairs of shoes, one blanket, and one pair of scissors." The food to be given to the slaves was also specified. The manager or owner had the choice of giving each slave above the age of fifteen, half an acre of land suitable for growing provisions, and providing him or her, as the case might be, with all the necessary seeds and implements of husbandry for the cultivation of the plot (every child under fifteen years of age to receive a quarter of an acre); or of supplying each slave over ten years of age with twenty pints of wheat flour, or of the flour of Guinea or

Indian corn, or fifty-six grown plantains, or fifty-six pounds of yams, and in addition seven salted herrings or shads, or other salted provisions, weekly. All offences on the part of slaves were divided into four classes, containing in all thirty heads, and the punishment for each offence was specified. Records were to be kept of every punishment inflicted, and such records, together with all others required under the law, were to be open to the Protector of Slaves, who was empowered to visit any estate without warning and had free access to the slaves at all times. The slaves had the right to leave any estate without permission if they wished to lay complaints before the Protector. All complaints were immediately investigated by the Protector or one of his subordinates.

Every owner of forty slaves was compelled to engage the services of a medical practitioner, who had to inspect all the slaves under his care at least once a fortnight, and keep a journal in which the results of such inspections were to be entered. Special provision was made in the law that husband and wife, parent and child could not be separated from each other without their own free will and consent, and the following extract from the law shows how minute was the legislation on this point — the extract refers to women who might be detained in

confinement for any offence — "Provided always, and I do hereby order and direct, that if any woman in confinement shall be at the time giving suck to a child, the said child shall be duly sent in, at the proper periods, to its mother for that purpose."

As slavery was abolished in 1838 throughout the British colonies, it is impossible for me to speak from personal observation of the treatment of the slaves, and it is necessary, therefore, in order to gain some idea of the operation of the slave laws, to consult the works of contemporary writers. No writer on the history of the West Indies has a higher reputation than Bryan Edwards, whose "History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies," the first edition of which was published in 1793, and the fourth and last in 1807, remains to this day the most complete and admirable work on the history of the West Indies up to the early years of the present century.

I feel that I cannot do better than transcribe a few pages from this work, as my readers will thus receive at first hand the result of observations made just prior to the abolition of slavery by an intelligent and unprejudiced inquirer.

"The gang is summoned to the labors of the field either by a bell or the blowing of a conch-shell just before sunrise. They bring with them,

besides their hoes or bills, provisions for breakfast; and are attended by a White person, and a Black superintendent called a driver. The list being called over and the names of all the absentees noted, they proceed with their work until eight or nine o'clock, when they sit down in the shade to breakfast, which is prepared in the meantime by a certain number of women, whose sole employment it is to act as cooks for the rest. This meal commonly consists of boiled yams, eddoes, ocra, calalue and plantains, or as many of those vegetables as they can procure; seasoned with salt and cayenne pepper; and, in truth, it is an exceeding palatable and wholesome mess. By this time most of the absentees make their appearance, and are sometimes punished for their sluggishness by a few stripes of the driver's whip. But I am happy to say that of late years a very slight excuse is generally admitted. . . . At breakfast they are seldom indulged more than half or three quarters of an hour; and having resumed their work, continue in the field until noon, when the bell calls them from labor. They are now allowed two hours of rest and refreshment; one of which is commonly spent in sleep. Their dinner is provided with the addition of salted or pickled fish, of

which each Negro receives a weekly allowance. Many of them, however, preferring a plentiful supper to a meal at noon, pass the hours of recess, either in sleep, or in collecting food for their pigs and poultry, of which they are permitted to keep as many as they please; or perhaps a few of the more industrious will employ an hour in their provision grounds. . . . At sunset, or very soon after, they are released for the night . . . and if the day has been wet, or their labor harder than usual, they are sometimes indulged with an allowance of rum. On the whole, as the length of the day in the latitude of the West Indies differs very little throughout the year, I conceive they are employed daily about ten hours in the service of their master, Sundays and holidays excepted. In the crop season, however, the system is different; for at that time, such of the Negroes as are employed in the mill and boiling-houses often work very late, frequently all night; but they are divided into watches, which relieve each other, according to the practice among seamen; and it is remarkable, that at this season the Negroes enjoy higher health and vigor than at any other period of the year; a circumstance undoubtedly owing to the free and unrestrained

use which they are allowed to make of the ripe canes, the cane-liquor, and syrup. . . . On the whole, notwithstanding some defects, let allowance be made for the climate and soil, and it may be asserted with truth and modesty, that, if the situation of the slaves in the British West Indies were, in all cases, on a level with their circumstances in regard to food, lodging, and medical assistance, they might be deemed objects of envy to half the peasantry of Europe. . . . At the same time let it not be forgotten, that the legislative authority in many of the sugar islands, has been, and still is, most humanely and laudably exerted in exalting the condition of the slave in all respects, and circumscribing the power of the master. . . . That the narratives therefore of excessive whippings, and barbarous mutilations, which have lately awakened the sympathy of the publick, are *all* of them *absolutely false;* — though it has been asserted by others shall not be asserted by me. If they have happened but *seldom*, they have happened too often. The difference between me, and those who, on this ground, continue to urge the necessity of an immediate and total suppression of the slave-trade, is this: they assert that it is not *unfrequent*, but *common*, the occurrence of every hour,

to behold the miserable Negroes fall victims to a series of cruelties of which no other age or country affords an example; and they maintain that the planters *in general* are guilty of these cruelties, without commiseration or remorse. I, on the other hand, aver that, although such enormities have certainly sometimes happened, and may happen again, yet that the general treatment of the Negroes in the British West Indies is mild, temperate, and indulgent; and that instances of cruelty are not only rare, but always universally reprobated when discovered; and when susceptible of legal proof, severely punished."

The author then cites instances of the punishment of white slave-owners for offences against their slaves. Amongst others are the following:—

Jamaica, 1777: Thomas Fell found guilty of an assault on a negro slave and sentenced to pay a fine of £20, and to be imprisoned in the common jail one week, and until payment of the fine.

Jamaica, 1786: George Geddes was found guilty of cruelly beating and maiming two slaves, and was sentenced to a fine of £100 for each slave, and to be imprisoned for six months, and afterward to find securities for his good behavior.

Grenada, 1776: A white man (name not given) was convicted of the murder of his own slave, and executed.

The Emancipation Act became law in England on August 28, 1833. It provided that on August 1, 1834, all slaves in the British Empire should become apprenticed laborers, and that they should be absolutely free in 1840. Subsequently a change was made, and the date of complete emancipation was fixed for August 1, 1838. England paid £20,000,000 as compensation to the slave-owners; and a record exists amongst the British Parliamentary Papers of the name of every slave-owner in the British colonies, and the amount of compensation paid to each.

The number of slaves who received their freedom on August 1, 1838, was 639,000, the number in Jamaica alone being 322,000.

Despite the confident predictions of the anti-slavery party, emancipation had a most disastrous effect on the West Indian colonies. Most of the planters were ruined; numbers of estates fell out of cultivation; plantations became a drug on the market; the coffee and cotton industries were, for the time being, destroyed.

Looking back on the situation, it is readily

perceived that no other result could have been looked for. It was slavery that had made the existence of the plantations possible, it was the yearly supply of slaves that kept them going; and with the abolition of slavery the whole fabric of which that institution had been the foundation and corner-stone fell to the ground. After emancipation the freed slaves merely acted as every one, whose intellect was not clouded by an over-ardent espousal of a noble cause, had anticipated. Nothing could, in fact, have been more natural. After being condemned for years to hard daily toil, it was surely unreasonable to expect that the negroes would not take advantage of their freedom to lead that life of leisure of which each of them had dreamed — and only dreamed. There is ample evidence that this idea — the freedom from labor — was uppermost in the minds of the slaves when the prospect of emancipation was opened to them. Mr. James Rodway, whose knowledge of the early history of the West Indies is unequalled, relates a case in point in his "History of British Guiana"; and it must be borne in mind that the circumstance occurred but a few days after the Emancipation Proclamation was published in 1834.

"In Essequibo," says Mr. Rodway, "the diffi-

culties in getting the apprentices to work almost led to an insurrection. On the 9th of August all the laborers in Trinity Parish struck work, and under 'Captain' Damon and several 'Lieutenants' assembled and took possession of the parish church and churchyard. The managers, being alarmed, sent to Capoey for troops, and Captain Groves with about forty men of the 25th Regiment went to *La Belle Alliance*, and took up their quarters there. Mr. Bean of *Richmond* went to the churchyard and tried very hard to induce them to return to their plantations. They said they were all free now, and would neither return nor work for their masters any more. On being asked if they would listen to the Governor they replied that they must see him first, and when told of the law shouted to drown Mr. Bean's voice. The church bells had been rung in the night and a flag hoisted, which they refused to pull down. The constables who came with Mr. Bean arrested two of the ringleaders, but these were rescued by the mob. The troops then arrived, but Captain Groves would not take the responsibility of firing on them, preferring to wait for the Governor, who had been already sent for. The parish clergyman, the Rev. J. H. Duke, had used

his best endeavors to explain the law, and asked them to disperse, but having got the idea that the plantation houses were their masters' property they told him they had come to the church, because it belonged to the King, and refused to leave it. Next day the negroes assembled in front of the house on Pln. *Richmond*, from the gallery of which the Governor addressed them in such a firm and temperate manner that they became thoroughly cowed.

"'I am very sorry,' said he, 'to have to tell you that your conduct has been ungrateful, obstinate, and of a nature bordering on open rebellion to the King and His Government. It has been ungrateful toward our Good King and the People of England, to whom you owe so much.' After explaining their duties and privileges as apprentices he went on to say: 'Your conduct borders on rebellion — You have not only refused to work, but have taken possession of the church and churchyard, and have remained there — have erected a flagstaff and hoisted a flag — have rung the church bell during the night, and have rescued prisoners from the constables. The ringleaders will be sent to Georgetown to be tried — they will be escorted by constables to the waterside, but these constables will be supported by soldiers.

You will yourselves see the soldiers load their muskets, and you will hear me order the officer to fire upon any person who may attempt to rescue the prisoners — you will see by these measures that I am not come to trifle with you. I now desire the managers and overseers to conduct you to your work. You have yet time to do some work to-day — to-morrow you will work for seven and a half hours. If any of you are so obstinate as to refuse, a Court will be immediately assembled and the delinquents brought to trial. It grieves me to speak in this way, for I am and always have been your friend and well-wisher. I must, however, do my duty, and the law of the King and Parliament of Great Britain must be obeyed.' Thus ended what might have become a serious riot had the Governor been wanting in tact and firmness."

The circumstances which Mr. Rodway relates are typical of what occurred throughout the slave colonies during the period of apprenticeship. After August 1, 1838, when all the slaves were absolutely free, things rapidly went from bad to worse. On October 11, 1838, the Governor of British Guiana issued a Proclamation "to the Freed Men and Women of the First of August." He said that he had been watching

their conduct, and had received reports from the Magistrates of every district. Some were favorable, but he was sorry to say that they had not all proved worthy of the name of free people, nor did they all come up to his expectations. A short relaxation was natural and allowable, but they must see the necessity for exertion to provide for their families and save money to raise their positions in society. He had heard that some of them contented themselves with irregular labor — that their masters could not depend on their contracts — that they went to the field one day and kept away the next — that when they had earned enough to fill their bellies they laid down to sleep or idled away their time — and that when in the field they left their tasks unfinished and then pretended to wonder that they were not paid in full. Were they aware to what this led? The abandonment of estates and their own degradation! Could they expect to be supplied with houses and other advantages, and give only what they chose in return? Could they suppose the owners of the estates would put up with their whims? Could the land and buildings pay interest or be kept up unless they gave a fair portion of their labor? He had heard that ill-disposed persons circulated false reports among them and

encouraged them to think they were overworked and not sufficiently paid. They must not believe this, such persons were their enemies. If they did not work, their places would be supplied, and when their money was exhausted, there would be trouble. He exhorted them not to disappoint the hopes of their friends, who had tried to hasten their emancipation, believing them worthy of it. Their employers were very forbearing, but if they did not labor they would be turned off the estates.[1]

So desperate did the condition of the West Indian colonies become that the House of Commons passed the following resolution on March 22, 1842: "*Ordered*, That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the state of the different *West India* colonies, in reference to the existing Relations between Employers and Labourers, the Rate of Wages, the Supply of Labour, the System and Expense of Cultivation, and the general state of their Rural and Agricultural Economy."

A Select Committee of fifteen members was appointed on April 6, 1842, and their Report is dated July 25th of the same year. An immense amount of evidence was collected from every available source, all of which is reproduced *verbatim* in

[1] Rodway, "History of British Guiana," vol. iii. p. 51.

the Report. The Report is an interesting and important document, for it makes an analysis of the causes of the West Indian distress, and also foreshadows the policy by means of which alone extreme disaster could be averted, and which was, in fact, as will be shown later, adopted by several of the colonies.

The Select Committee passed the following resolutions, which are embodied in the Report: —

(1) That the great act of emancipating the Slaves in the West Indian colonies has been productive, as regards the character and condition of the Negro Population, of the most favorable and gratifying results.

(2) That the improvement in the character of the negro in every colony into the state of which this Committee has had time to extend inquiry, is proved by abundant testimony of an increased and increasing desire for religious and general instruction, a growing disposition to take upon themselves the obligations of marriage, and to fulfil the duties of domestic life; improved morals; rapid advance in civilization, and increased sense of the value of property and independent station.

(3) That, unhappily, there has occurred, simultaneously with this amendment in the condition

of the Negroes, a very great diminution in the staple productions of the West Indies, to such an extent as to have caused serious, and in some cases, ruinous injury to the proprietors of estates in those colonies.

(4) That whilst the distress has been felt to a much less extent in some of the smaller and more populous islands, it has been so great in the larger colonies of Jamaica, British Guiana, and Trinidad, as to have caused many estates, hitherto prosperous and productive, to be cultivated for the last two or three years at considerable loss, and others to be abandoned.

(5) That the principal causes of this diminished production and consequent distress are, the great difficulty which has been experienced by the Planters in obtaining steady and continuous labour, and the high rate of remuneration which they give for the broken and indifferent work which they are able to secure.

(6) That the diminished supply of labour is caused partly by the fact that some of the former slaves have betaken themselves to other occupations more profitable than field labour; but the more general cause is, that the labourers are enabled to live in comfort and to acquire wealth without, for the most part, labouring on the estates

of the Planters for more than three or four days in a week, and from five to seven hours in a day, so that they have no sufficient stimulus to perform an adequate amount of work.

(7) That this state of things arises partly from the high wages which the insufficiency of the supply of labour, and the competition with each other, naturally impel the Planters to pay; but it is principally to be attributed to the easy terms upon which the use of land has been obtainable by negroes.

(8) That many of the former slaves have been enabled to purchase land, and the labourers generally are allowed to occupy provision grounds subject to no rent, or to a very low one; and in these fertile countries the land they thus hold as owners or occupiers not only yields them an ample supply of food, but in many cases a considerable overplus in money, altogether independent of, and in addition to, the high money wages they receive.

(9) That the cheapness of land has been the main cause of the difficulties which have been experienced; and that this cheapness is the natural result of the excess of fertile land beyond the wants of the existing population.

(10) That in considering the anxious question

of what practical remedies are best calculated to check the increasing depreciation of West Indian property, it therefore appears that much might be effected by judicious arrangements on the part of the Planters themselves, for their own general advantage, and by moderate and prudent changes in the system which they have hitherto adopted.

(11) That one obvious and most desirable mode of endeavoring to compensate for this diminished supply of labour, is to promote the immigration of a fresh labouring population, to such an extent as to create competition for employment.

(12) That for the better attainment of that object, as well as to secure the full rights and comforts of the immigrants as freemen, it is desirable that such immigration should be conducted under the authority, inspection, and control of responsible public officers.

(13) That it is also a serious question, whether it is not required by a due regard for the just rights and interests of the West Indian Proprietors, and the ultimate welfare of the Negroes themselves, more especially in consideration of the large addition to the labouring population which, it is hoped, may soon be effected by immigration, that the laws which regulate the relations between employers and labourers in the different colonies,

should undergo early and careful revision by their respective legislatures.

In regard to the first and second paragraphs in this Report it may be said that sixty years of freedom do not seem to have done very much in the way of improving the morality of the negroes, whatever they may have achieved in the direction of education and religious instruction, for the percentage of illegitimacy in the births of some of the West Indian colonies during 1897 was as follows: Barbados 54.15%; St. Lucia 60.25%; Jamaica 61.1%; Trinidad 59.2%; and British Guiana 60.0%.

The most striking paragraphs of the Report are 7, 8, and 9, for they contain the whole sum and substance of the labor problem in the tropics. The question, in a few words, is this — What possible means are there of inducing the inhabitants of the tropics to undertake steady and continuous work if the local conditions are such that from the mere bounty of nature all the ambitions of the people can be gratified without any considerable amount of labor?

On this point Sir Harry H. Johnston, K.C.B., in his admirable work "A History of the Colonization of Africa by Alien Races," recently published, says: "Yet about the African slave-trade, as with

most other instinctive human procedure, and the movements of one race against another, there is an underlying sense of justice. The White and Yellow peoples have been the unconscious agents of the Power behind Nature in punishing the negro for his lazy backwardness. In this world Natural Law ordains that all mankind must work to a reasonable extent, must wrest from its environment sustenance for body and mind, and a bit over to start the children from a higher level than the parents. The races that will not work persistently and doggedly are trampled on, and in time displaced, by those who do. Let the Negro take this to heart; let him devote his fine muscular development in the first place to the setting of his own rank, untidy continent in order. If he will not work of his own free will, now that freedom of action is temporarily restored to him; if he will not till and manure and drain and irrigate the soil of his country in a steady, laborious way as do the Oriental and the European; if he will not apply himself zealously under European tuition to the development of the vast resources of tropical Africa, where hitherto he has led the wasteful unproductive life of a baboon; then force of circumstances, the pressure of eager, hungry, impatient outside humanity, the converging energies of

Europe and Asia, will once more relegate the Negro to a servitude which will be the alternative — in the coming struggle for existence — to extinction."

It will be seen in the following chapter that those colonies which followed the suggestion of the Select Committee of the House of Commons in regard to the importation of laborers to take the place of the freed slaves have succeeded in maintaining industries of considerable importance, whilst those which have continued to depend on free labor have, with the exception of those where there exists a pressure of population, sunk to a very low condition.

SUMMARY

The labor problem in the tropics dates from the time when the Spaniards, having exhausted the native labor supply of the West Indies, obtained the permission of the Spanish Monarchs to import slaves from Africa. This was at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the tropical portions of Africa and Asia there was no labor problem up to this time, for slavery was a recognized institution and provided all the labor which was required. Up to the early years of the present century the labor problem was solved by means of the importation into various tropical countries of slaves from Africa.

The treatment of slaves in the British colonies was the subject of much legislation, both local and Imperial; and although no doubt the system led to certain abuses the punishment inflicted on planters and others who ill-treated their slaves was so severe, after conviction, that cases of brutality were rare. Thus the clothing, food, hours of work, holidays, civil and

criminal trial, and the separation of families were dealt with in local enactments which were strictly enforced.

Records exist in the colonial archives of the fine and imprisonment of planters found guilty of offences against their slaves; and some instances are related of planters suffering the death penalty for the murder of a slave.

The first blow at slavery was struck when the British Parliament passed a law in 1807, making the slave-trade, that is, the carrying of slaves from Africa or elsewhere, illegal. It was subsequently made a penal offence punishable with fourteen years' penal servitude, and later, piracy punishable by transportation for life.

The British Emancipation Act became law on August 28, 1833. It provided that on August 1, 1834, all slaves in the British Empire should become apprenticed laborers, and that they should become absolutely free in 1840. Subsequently the date for complete emancipation was fixed for August 1, 1838. England paid twenty millions of pounds sterling as compensation to the British slave-owners.

Following emancipation came a grave crisis in the affairs of the British tropical colonies. The emancipated slaves would not work, the crops rotted in the ground, the planters were ruined, the credit of the tropical colonies was destroyed. So desperate did the condition of these colonies become that on April 6, 1842, a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the state of the different West Indian colonies. A great mass of evidence was collected and a Report was issued by the Select Committee stating that the grave depression which existed in the West Indian colonies was due in a large measure to the want of reliable labor, and suggesting that labor should be imported under contract into those colonies.

The difficulty then, as it is now, was the absence of any means of inducing the emancipated slaves and their descendants to

work on the plantations, in face of the fact that the natural conditions in most of the colonies were such as to make it possible for a man to live without regular labor.

The abolition of slavery discredited the first solution of the labor problem in the tropics, and rendered another solution imperative. What the second solution has been will be seen in the next chapter.

# CHAPTER V

## THE INDENTURED LABOR SYSTEM IN THE BRITISH COLONIES

THE immediate effects of emancipation in the British slave colonies have been described in the previous chapter, and we have seen that a very serious situation was created by the collapse of the labor supply. In most of the slave colonies the compensation paid by the British government helped to keep things going for a while; but when it is remembered that after emancipation fully one-third of the laborers became absolutely unavailable, and that the work of the remaining two-thirds was unreliable and desultory, it will be readily understood that the planters had to face one of two alternatives; they might abandon their estates and accept their ruin with what philosophy they might possess, or continue to work their plantations if it were possible to secure a regular and reliable labor supply from new sources. Many of the planters found it impossible to tide over the interval between the emancipation of the negroes and the establishing of a

regular supply of imported labor, and a number of estates went out of cultivation. Confining ourselves to the British tropical colonies, we find that the slave colonies fall into three groups subsequent to emancipation; first, those in which a system of imported contract labor was successfully established; secondly, those in which the pressure of population insured to the planters a sufficient labor supply; and thirdly, those in which the agricultural industries fell to such insignificant proportions that the small percentage of willing workers has since been found adequate for all requirements. To the first class belong Mauritius, Trinidad, Jamaica, and British Guiana; to the second, Barbados with 1120 persons to the square mile, Antigua with 470, Grenada with 430, and St. Kitts-Nevis with 380; to the third class belong all the other British tropical colonies which were formerly dependent on imported slaves, amongst which may be named St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Dominica, and Montserrat. The following table exhibits the productive efficiency of these three classes of colonies. The calculations are made by taking the mean population for the years 1882–91 and the average annual value of the exports from each colony during those years, from which figures the average value of exports *per*

*capita* from the several colonies is obtained. In the case of British Guiana and Trinidad, the value of the exports of bullion and specie is not included.

In an article in the *Popular Science Monthly* for February, 1899, I gave the value of the *per capita* exports of several of the colonies, included in the following table. The figures given in that article differ considerably from those now presented, and a word of explanation is therefore necessary. The figures now given refer to the years 1882 to 1891, whilst those in the *Popular Science Monthly* referred to the years 1893, 1894, and 1895. But it must be borne in mind that although the figures differ they bear about the same proportion to one another. Thus the value of exports *per capita* from British Guiana for 1893–95 was given at $34.26, and from Dominica at $7.28 or in the ration of 4.7 to 1; the figures for 1882–91 are $42.90 and $8.90 respectively, or in the ratio of 4.8 to 1. The fact is that the value of exports from all the colonies dealt with in the accompanying table fell off considerably in the years following 1891.

The decrease had nothing to do with the labor supply, but was due primarily to a falling off in the price of sugar.

| | Name of Colony. | Mean Population, 1882–91. | Average Value of Annual Exports, 1882–91. | Value of Exports per capita. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | British Guiana . | 265,257 | $11,390,000 | $42.90 |
| | Mauritius . . . | 365,499 | 16,640,000 | 45.52 |
| | Trinidad . . . | 176,578 | 8,530,000 | 48.31 |
| | Jamaica . . . | 610,147 | 7,800,000 | 12.78 |
| 2. | Barbados . . . | 177,363 | 5,280,000 | 29.75 |
| | St. Kitts-Nevis . | 42,482 | 1,180,000 | 27.77 |
| | Antigua . . . | 35,831 | 990,000 | 27.62 |
| | Grenada . . . | 47,806 | 1,045,000 | 21.85 |
| 3. | St. Lucia . . . | 40,385 | 730,000 | 18.07 |
| | St. Vincent . . | 40,801 | 560,000 | 13.72 |
| | Montserrat . . | 10,92 | 135,000 | 12.36 |
| | Dominica . . . | 27,526 | 245,000 | 8.90 |

If we take the average of each of these three classes of colonies, we find that the productive efficiency of the colonies employing indentured labor is represented by $37.38 per head of the population, of the colonies where there is a pressure of population by $26.74, and of the colonies where the population is normal and there is no indentured labor by $13.26. It must be pointed out that in this analysis, which is merely an approximation, the method of arriving at the conclusions strongly favors the colonies in the second and third classes. Thus if we were to exclude from our calculations the value of the transit trade of all these colonies, and confine ourselves to the export of local produce and manufactures, the superior productive efficiency of the colonies

employing indentured labor would appear still more marked. In regard to Jamaica it may be noted that the number of East Indian immigrants in the island is so small that it would be almost allowable to place the colony in the third class. The percentage of East Indians in the population of the four colonies employing indentured labor is as follows: Mauritius 68%, British Guiana 37%, Trinidad 32%, Jamaica 2%. If Jamaica were placed amongst the free-labor colonies, the relative efficiency of the three classes would be as follows: class 1, $45.58; class 2, $26.74; class 3, $13.17.

In describing in detail the system of imported indentured labor, I wish to show, not that all systems of imported indentured labor have everywhere been conducted on humane and just principles with a high degree of protection for the immigrants, but that in view of the fact that a system with these characteristics exists to-day in some of the British colonies, there is no reason to believe that it could not be successfully established throughout the tropics in those countries where the pressure of population does not insure a steady labor supply.

I am aware that an intense prejudice exists in the United States against any such system. It is no part of my present task to examine the

grounds of this prejudice, or to express any opinion as to the ethics of the indentured labor system. I find it my duty simply to set forth the facts relating to the operation of the system, as far as they are known to me, leaving my readers to form their own opinions either from the facts I present or from other facts in their possession.

Whatever knowledge of the system I have acquired was gathered during a residence of four years on sugar estates in the West Indies in the capacity of an overseer. During this period I had daily charge of a large number of indentured East Indian laborers, and I was thus in a position to gain some insight into the working of the system.

The importation of laborers into British Guiana from India commenced in 1838, and with the exception of eight years between 1839 and 1850 has continued up to the present time. It was not, however, until 1864 that the system was organized on the basis of a thorough government control. In that year a law was passed with the approval of the Indian Government and the British Colonial Office, know as "The Consolidated Immigration Ordinance of 1864," which definitely fixed the mutual obligations of the planters and the indentured laborers, and laid

down the methods of procedure in all matters arising out of the new law.

Broadly speaking, the duties of employers were thus defined: Suitable dwelling-house and hospital accommodation to be provided free; suitable and sufficient medical attendance, maintenance, and nursing to be secured free of charge to all indentured immigrants; wages by the day to be paid at the same rate as the wages paid to creoles and other unindentured laborers; in the case of task work, the task for each day to be no greater than the task given to free laborers, and to be paid for at the same rate; wages to be paid weekly, and no deductions whatever to be made for house rent, hospital accommodation, medicines, etc. Failure to carry out these conditions rendered an employer liable to fine and imprisonment, on conviction.

The duties of the immigrants were to perform five days' labor in each week, a day's work in the fields to be seven hours in length, and in the factory ten hours.

All indentured immigrants who after serving five years on an estate remained for five years longer in the colony, were entitled to a free passage back to India. The system of indentured labor in British Guiana was subjected in 1870 to

a most searching inquiry conducted by a Royal Commission sent to the colony for that purpose. The appointment of the commission followed a report made to Earl Granville, Secretary of State for the Colonies, by a certain Mr. Des Vœux, who had been a magistrate in British Guiana. In this report, which was in the form of a letter, Mr. Des Vœux made a very violent attack on the system of indentured labor. Referring to the letter, the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* said, "Mr. Des Vœux arraigns the medical men employed on the estates, the stipendiary magistrates, the clergy in colonial pay, the sub-immigration agents, and even the late Governor, as subservient to the views of the planters, and opposed to the interest of the immigrants, whom, he declares, have been long treated with gross deception, injustice, and cruelty."

Sir Clinton Murdoch, Chairman of the British Land and Emigration Commissioners, reporting on the letter, said, "Mr. Des Vœux impugns the conduct of every class in the colony except the lowest; and imputes to the local government, and to the magistrates, and medical men, cruel neglect of duty, and unworthy truckling to the planting interest, and to the planters generally, cruelty, falsehood, and perversion of justice."

Charges of this nature coming from an official source could not pass unnoticed, and a Royal Commission was appointed to visit the colony, examine witnesses under oath, and to make full, ample, searching, and impartial inquiry into all such statements (of Mr. Des Vœux) and into all matters to which such statements in any way related.

The personnel of the Commission was of the highest character. The chairman was Mr. William Edward Frere, who had lived for thirty-five years in India, and had been a Judge of the Supreme Court of Bombay, and a member of the Governor's Council. The two remaining members were Sir George Young, a barrister, and Mr. Charles Mitchel, for some years Protector of Immigrants in Trinidad.

Mr. Des Vœux entirely failed to support any of the serious charges which he had made. The Commission examined forty-six witnesses, amongst whom were a number of indentured immigrants, and elicited replies to over nine thousand questions. In addition to this they visited several estates, without giving any previous warning of their intention, and privately examined a number of laborers.

The Report of the Commission practically cleared every person concerned from any serious blame, and its general tenor was that in most

cases Mr. Des Vœux had completely failed to substantiate his charges, and that in those where any proof was forthcoming it was evident that he had highly exaggerated the circumstances.

The Report says: "Persisting, as we were bound to do, in the course that we considered to be most appropriate, we were informed by Mr. Des Vœux that he had not in possession, either now or when he wrote the letter, and never had kept, any memoranda taken at the time and bearing on the matters in question, that he wrote his letter, in fact, without note or anything of any kind; and while he could, from memory, afford us very few facts, if any, in addition to the specimen incidents in that letter, it became in the course of our proceedings painfully evident that in regard to these, upon which so much was left to depend, his memory had very constantly and still did very constantly betray him; so that, although perhaps in hardly any of them, as was to be expected, were all unsatisfactory circumstances finally and fully explained, on the other hand, none of them as related were found to have been correctly stated in all material points."

It is impossible to cover the whole ground of the Report, but it may be said that the Commissioners stated in it that they had failed to find

any instance in which an immigrant had not obtained his rights in a magistrate's court; that no instances whatever were produced of misconduct on the part of the sub-immigration agents; and that in certain matters which were inquired into Mr. Des Vœux himself had been more to blame than those whom he accused.

The subject of the Commission may be dismissed by quoting from a Blue-book issued in England in 1872 in which Sir Clinton Murdoch sums up the result of the inquiry. He said: "In conclusion it may, I think, be considered that the report of the Commissioners is generally satisfactory, both as regards the magistracy, the planters, and the immigrants. Many defects in the system and mode of working it are no doubt pointed out, but they are defects caused by errors of judgment, by insufficiency of the law, or by want of foresight, not by neglect or indifference to the well-being of the people, still less by oppression or cruelty. The vindication of the magistracy and of the medical officers from the charge of servility to the planters appears to be complete, and the fair dealing and kindness of the managers toward the immigrants is acknowledged."

Following the report of the Des Vœux commission a number of amendments were introduced

into the immigration laws of the colony, and from year to year such alterations and additions have been made as experience has shown to be necessary. The present law governing the system of indentured labor in British Guiana is Ordinance 18 of 1891, entitled "An Ordinance to consolidate and amend the Laws relating to Asiatic Immigrants:" and in order to understand the working of the system it is necessary to examine this law in some of its details.

The Ordinance is divided into sixteen parts, of which eight only require our special attention, the provisions of the remaining eight being easily explained in a few words.

Part 1 of the Ordinance establishes the Immigration Department.[1] It provides for an Immigration Agent General who shall be directly responsible to the Governor of the colony for the efficient working of the department. Under him are the senior immigration agent, the immigration agents, clerks, interpreters and other officers of the department. The general powers of the Immigration Agent General, apart from his

[1] It is not to be understood that the department and offices created in this ordinance are here originated. Many of the offices came into existence in 1838 under the first introduction of immigrants. This ordinance merely re-creates them under the new law.

departmental work, are thus laid down:— The Immigration Agent General may at any time enter into and upon any plantation on which immigrants are employed, and inspect the condition and general treatment of the immigrants, and the condition of their dwellings . . . and of the hospital accommodation, and may inquire into any complaints which any immigrant may have against the employer, and may make a complaint or lay an information in his own name, on behalf of any such immigrant, against the employer or against any other person, before the Magistrate of the district or before any other Court of Justice in the colony, having jurisdiction to hear, try, and determine the offence or other matter charged. The Immigration Agent General shall watch the proceedings on any such complaint, or may, if necessary, carry the same for review by way of appeal before any Superior Court having jurisdiction in the case, and may in such Superior Court retain the services of counsel, and may in all respects act on behalf of such immigrant as if he himself were the principal in the case; and he shall report the course of such proceedings from time to time, and the final result thereof, to the Governor.

Part I also defines the duties of the Surgeon-

General of the colony in regard to immigrants, and provides for the periodical inspection of the estates by a medical officer once every six months, and the issuance of a report on the condition of the estates' hospitals and the dwelling-houses of the immigrants.

Under Sections 19–24 of this Part of the Ordinance provisions are made for conducting inquiries in regard to the treatment of immigrants on the estates. The Immigration Agent General is empowered to summon any person as a witness, and failure to attend the summons is an act of contempt, and punishable as such. Witnesses may be put on their oath, and may be called on to sign their sworn statements, and they are liable in this respect to action for perjury. Every employer of indentured laborers is bound to produce to the Immigration Agent General on demand each and every book of accounts kept on the plantation, which in any way relate to the wages paid to the immigrants, and failure or refusal to produce such books constitutes an offence punishable by a fine not exceeding $96 or imprisonment with or without hard labor, or both fine and imprisonment.

Part 4 of the Ordinance relates to the indenture of the immigrant. Sections 55 and 56 in Part 4

may be quoted from the law *verbatim*, as they show the manner in which the immigrants are protected from fraud in inducing them to come to the colony.

Sec. 55. If any immigrants introduced into the colony under a previous contract entered into with any Emigration Agent or other officer of the Emigration Office of this colony in the country from which he may have emigrated, or with any employer or agent of an employer, such contract shall be valid and enforceable in every respect as against the colony or the employer, as the case may be, and, in so far as the rights of such immigrant may exceed or vary from the rights which he would have enjoyed under this Ordinance if he had not entered into such contract, he shall be entitled to the benefit of such contract.

Sec. 56. Except by permission of Her Majesty's Government previously had and obtained, no previous contract entered into with any immigrant from any part of India shall be valid as against such immigrant.

It will be seen from these sections that no contract can be enforced against any immigrant, except that form of contract which has been approved by the Imperial Government acting under the advice of the Indian Council. But, on the other hand,

if a planter should import a coolie on his own account, agreeing to pay him such or such wages in return for his labor, and fixing the hours of labor in excess of the time provided in the legal contract, the immigrant could compel the planter to pay the wage and could at the same time refuse to work for a longer time than the coolies imported under government supervision. I have never heard however, of any attempt to import coolies by other than the regular channels.

Part 4 of the Ordinance also provides that no immigrant under ten years of age shall be indentured. The reason for this provision is that immigrants very frequently bring young children with them to the colony. No infant immigrants can be located on any estate unless the owner has made provision for the free instruction of such infants in reading, writing, and the rudiments of arithmetic.

Part 7 of the Ordinance relates to hospitals. No immigrants can be allotted to any estate which has not a hospital capable of accommodating fifteen of the first hundred coolies allotted and five out of every subsequent hundred. These hospitals must be examined and certified as satisfactory by the medical inspector before any allotment of immigrants is made. Provision is made

for the employment in each estate of a qualified dispenser. A government medical officer must visit each hospital at least once in every forty-eight hours and record his visit in a book kept for the purpose. Section 54 in Part 7 provides that "The Government Medical Officer shall, in the case of every patient brought to him for treatment or treated by him on a plantation, record in the Case Book any disease or injury from which such patient may appear to be suffering, with the remedies prescribed and the diet ordered in each case, and whether he is treated as an in- or out-patient, and shall inform every in-patient of the diet prescribed for him, and whether stimulants and other extras are to be given with such diet; and in case of complaint, shall ascertain whether such diet and extras have been duly given."

Part 8 of the Ordinance deals with labor and wages, and embodies the terms of the indenture touching these points. The planter must provide every indentured laborer on his plantation with sufficient work for a full day's labor on every day, except Sundays and authorized holidays, and must pay him wages, either by the task or by the day, weekly, and the wages must be paid in money without deduction for any cause whatever.

If a manager postpones the payment of an indentured immigrant's wages beyond the next pay-day after the wages are due he is held to have unlawfully failed to pay the wages, and is liable to a penalty of $48. If any indentured immigrant, being willing and able to work, is not provided with work on any working day, he is entitled to his full day's wages for each day on which work is not provided. Work may be given out either by the day or by the task, except work which requires the coöperation of more than two laborers, in such a fashion that the indolence of one may prevent another from earning the full amount of wages which he might otherwise have earned, in which case all work must be paid for by the day. The employer is compelled to inform each immigrant, upon the assignment of any work, whether he is to be paid for it by the task or by the day, and the rate of pay in either case. In day labor seven hours constitutes a day's work in the field, or ten hours in the factory. The minimum legal wage is 24 cents a day for men, and 16 cents for women. Special provision is made for the recovery of wages by an indentured immigrant. It is not necessary for the immigrant to take out any summons or formal complaint, but

on making a verbal complaint to a magistrate, the latter may issue a summons, free of cost to the immigrant, calling on the manager or other person complained of to appear in court and answer a formal charge of unlawfully withholding wages. If convicted of this offence an employer is liable to a fine of $48.

If a dispute arises as to the rate of payment for task work, the Immigration Agent General is empowered, at the request of a magistrate, to visit the plantation and inspect the work in question, calling to his assistance witnesses skilled in the valuation of labor. The decision thus arrived at as to a fair price for the work is final. Such disputes arise from time to time, and I have frequently observed the method of settlement. As a rule, the Immigration Agent visits the field accompanied by some immigrant laborer selected by the indentured immigrants, and an overseer or other person connected with the management of the plantation. A portion of the task complained of is then measured off, say two portions of one-quarter each, and two men are then put to work on it. The witnesses are present and check the time occupied in performing the work, and an estimate is then made of the fair rate of wages for the task. The result is reported to

the magistrate, who gives his decision on the facts presented to him.

Both as regards the planter and the indentured immigrant penal clauses are attached to the portion of the law relating to labor and wages. Some of the penalties to which a planter is liable are as follows: Common assault on an indentured immigrant — fine of $48, or imprisonment not exceeding two months, or both fine and imprisonment. Unlawful withholding of wages — fine of $48. Keeping a shop on or near by a a plantation — fine of $100. The prohibition of selling goods to the immigrants prevents the greatest abuse which, under other circumstances, is liable to arise where a laboring population is entirely dependent on a special class of employers. The system, which prevails in some of the Southern States of the Union, under which the employer of labor sells goods to his laborers has been productive of abuses very generally as bad and frequently worse than those which existed under slavery.

The principal penalties to which the indentured immigrant is liable are the following: Drunkenness whilst at work, fraud or deception in the performance of work, or the use of abusive or insulting language or gesture toward an

employer — fine not exceeding $5, or imprisonment not exceeding fourteen days. Unlawful refusal to work — fine not exceeding $10, or imprisonment for not more than one month. Molestation of any other immigrant in the performance of his work, or an attempt to persuade other immigrants to refuse to work — fine not exceeding $24, or imprisonment not exceeding two months. As no punishment of any kind can be inflicted by the planter on an indentured laborer, and as the process of procedure before a magistrate is lengthy and troublesome, every effort is made by the planters to meet the immigrants half-way in any dispute which may arise. It must be noted, however, that when a planter is convicted of an offence against an immigrant, it is customary to inflict on him the utmost penalty of the law, whilst immigrants are invariably punished by merely nominal fines, $1 being the ordinary sum, until they have shown themselves to be incorrigible.

Part 11 of the Ordinance relates to the transfer of immigrants from one estate to another, and to the determination of the indenture. If it appears to the Governor of the colony, from information supplied him by the Immigration Agent General, that any immigrants are being

badly treated on any plantation, he has the power to arbitrarily order the removal of such immigrants. He also has the power to liberate any immigrant from his indenture by paying to his employer a sum of money fixed by law. This sum is called commutation money and its amount is fixed in the following way. A calculation is made each year of the cost of introducing the year's supply of immigrants into the colony. If we place this sum at $60 per head, it would represent $12 a year for the five years of the indenture. Then if an immigrant was freed from his contract in the third year of his indenture the commutation money would amount to $36, that is, $12 for each unexpired year of the indenture.

It is by no means unusual for immigrants to buy out their time in this manner. The principle appears perfectly just. The immigrant has been supplied with food and clothing by the planter from the time when the immigrant registered at the emigration office in India, and has furthermore had a free passage to the colony, and other privileges. All this expense has been incurred by the planter on the understanding that he is to benefit by the labor of the immigrant for five years. The expense is divided into

five portions and the immigrant merely pays back to the planter a sum proportionate to the unexpired time of the indenture.

The number of commutations during the past twenty years is given in the table of statistics on page 187.

The indenture of an immigrant expires five years from the day on which he is first allotted to a plantation, and an Immigration Agent must visit such plantation and give each person whose indenture expires a certificate to the effect that he is perfectly free of any legal obligations in respect of labor from that time forth. From the day when the indenture expires an immigrant is no longer bound to remain on the estate to which he was indentured, or to live on any estate, or to perform service of any kind. There are certain circumstances in which an indenture does not expire by mere effluxion of time. For instance, if an indentured immigrant commits a felony, or other offence which leads to his imprisonment, the time which he spends in jail, and during which, therefore, his employer does not benefit by his labor, must be served out on the plantation, if the employer so demands, after the period of five years is out. As a matter of fact it is very rarely that this is insisted on, for

men of the class who are liable to commit offences carrying terms of imprisonment are not desirable as laborers, and it is simpler to let them go at the end of their five years.

Part 13 of the Ordinance refers to the return passages of those immigrants who may desire to go back to India, and I quote some of the provisions in full, because one of the most frequent and also one of the most just complaints against the importation of contract laborers is that in some countries the conditions are such as to make it impossible for the immigrants to return to their native land, and that they are in consequence condemned to perpetual exile.

That this is not the case in British Guiana will be seen from the following provisions in the law relating to Asiatic immigration.

Sect. 199. Every immigrant who has completed a continuous residence of ten years in the colony and has during that time obtained or become entitled to a certificate of exemption from labor [that is, who has served as an indentured immigrant for five years] shall, if such immigrant desires to return to India, be entitled to be provided with a passage back to the port in India whence such immigrant sailed for this colony, on the payment of one-fourth of the passage money in the case

of males and of one-sixth thereof in the case of females: Provided as follows:—

(1) Every such immigrant who is destitute or disabled shall be entitled to a free passage;

(2) The wife and every son and daughter of every such immigrant, and any person being an immigrant or the descendant of an immigrant who is dependent on any such immigrant, shall be entitled to a free passage, if such wife, or son, or other person sails from this colony with her husband or his or her parent or with the person on whom he or she is dependent, as the case may be, but not otherwise.

(6) Nothing in this section shall affect the rights of immigrants who have been engaged on the terms of being entitled to a return passage wholly at the expense of the colony.

The number of immigrants who have taken advantage of these provisions during the past twenty years is shown in the table on page 187.

Under Part 14 of the Ordinance and other parts every employer of indentured laborers is compelled to keep the following books and registers which must be at all times open to the inspection of the Immigration Agent General, or his agents, the Medical Inspector, and the Government Medical Officers, and must be produced

before any judge or magistrate hearing cases brought by or against any indentured immigrant: (1) A Pay List, showing the earnings of each indentured immigrant for each working day, and in the case of absence from work, showing the cause of such absence, such as sickness, leave of absence, and so forth; (2) A Register of Births; (3) A Register of Deaths; (4) A Register of Dwellings; (5) A Register of Absences on Leave; (6) A Register of Desertions; (7) A Register of Cases before the Magistrate; (8) A Hospital Case Book; (9) A Hospital Register.

In addition to the above the employer of indentured immigrants must send in to the Immigration Department a half-yearly return showing the number of immigrants under his employment.

Abstracts of the above registers are made part of the permanent records of the Immigration Department, and the Department must also keep records showing the number of immigrants imported into the colony, the number of these who were married on and after arrival, the number of divorces granted to immigrants, the value and other particulars relating to the property of deceased immigrants, and the number of orphans of immigrants. The Administrator General of the colony is empowered to dispose of the estates of

deceased immigrants according to the terms of a will, if any be left, and in the absence of such will he must deliver the estate to the next of kin, whether the heir resides in the colony, or in India, or elsewhere.

Under those Parts of the Ordinance which have not been dealt with above, other details in regard to the working of the system are provided for. Each immigrant is entitled to free house room, and no immigrants can be allotted to any estate until the dwellings intended for them have been inspected by the Medical Inspector and passed as satisfactory. All immigrants who earn $1.50 a week for two consecutive weeks are entitled to twenty-four hours leave of absence in each such period. But any immigrant who may desire to visit the Immigration Agent General or a magistrate for the purpose of laying a complaint against the manager or any other person connected with the management of an estate has the right to leave any plantation for that purpose without securing leave of absence.

In the event of any indentured immigrant making a complaint to a magistrate or to the Immigration Agent General, an inquiry is instituted without delay, and if the complaint appears well founded legal proceedings are taken against the offender.

Having described the principal features of the law relating to indentured immigrants I append a few statistics which will be of interest to those who wish to understand the working of the system. The statistics cover the past twenty years, but it would be possible to carry them back in most instances to 1838. The figures relate to the colony of British Guiana.

| Year. | Number of immigrants introduced into the colony. | Number of immigrants who returned to India. | Value of money and jewelry taken back to India by returning immigrants. | Number of immigrants who have commuted. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1878 | 8,118 | 1,054 | $97,693 | 25 |
| 1879 | 6,426 | 1,122 | 96,599 | 6 |
| 1880 | 4,506 | 1,583 | 124,484 | 15 |
| 1881 | 4,355 | 1,415 | 122,582 | 32 |
| 1882 | 3,166 | 1,109 | 108,529 | 33 |
| 1883 | 3,016 | 1,495 | 183,838 | 47 |
| 1884 | 2,731 | 1,554 | 152,694 | 42 |
| 1885 | 6,209 | 1,761 | 137,708 | 22 |
| 1886 | 4,796 | 1,889 | 111,775 | 18 |
| 1887 | 3,928 | 1,420 | 92,613 | 32 |
| 1888 | 2,771 | 1,938 | 95,074 | 33 |
| 1889 | 3,573 | 2,042 | 112,124 | 43 |
| 1890 | 3,432 | 2,125 | 142,611 | 41 |
| 1891 | 5,229 | 2,151 | 134,225 | 45 |
| 1892 | 5,241 | 2,014 | 97,529 | 41 |
| 1893 | 4,146 | 1,848 | 104,763 | 48 |
| 1894 | 9,585 | 1,998 | 113,308 | 84 |
| 1895 | 2,425 | 2,071 | 119,289 | 57 |
| 1896 | 2,408 | 2,059 | 76,470 | 72 |
| 1897 | 1,194 | 1,444 | 58,958 | 52 |

| Year. | Indentured population on the estates. | | Number of East Indian depositors in Government Savings Bank. | Total amount to their credit. | Death rate per 1000. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Male. | Female. | | | Indentured Immigrants. | Colony Generally. |
| 1878 | 15,678 | 6,531 | —— | —— | 26.0 | 30.44 |
| 1879 | 15,630 | 6,591 | —— | —— | 20.0 | 27.15 |
| 1880 | 15,769 | 6,793 | —— | —— | 24.0 | 30.23 |
| 1881 | 15,982 | 6,760 | 4,512 | $442,574 | 29.3 | 32.10 |
| 1882 | 15,140 | 6,426 | 3,566 | 556,713 | 28.3 | 32.82 |
| 1883 | 11,614 | 4,865 | 6,274 | 601,166 | 24.3 | 30.25 |
| 1884 | 10,826 | 4,425 | 5,908 | 515,539 | 25.1 | 32.02 |
| 1885 | 12,308 | 4,949 | 5,410 | 421,833 | 25.3 | 29.52 |
| 1886 | 12,156 | 4,988 | 5,558 | 425,956 | 27.4 | 25.56 |
| 1887 | 12,582 | 5,188 | 5,821 | 438,600 | 23.2 | 32.41 |
| 1888 | 12,853 | 5,390 | 5,904 | 457,886 | 19.7 | 29.27 |
| 1889 | 12,270 | 5,013 | 6,802 | 513,220 | 12.5 | 28.13 |
| 1890 | 11,077 | 4,490 | 7,269 | 558,734 | 20.4 | 39.80 |
| 1891 | 11,836 | 4,874 | 6,398 | 515,246 | 20.4 | 37.00 |
| 1892 | 12,270 | 5,069 | 6,085 | 527,203 | 25.2 | 39.00 |
| 1893 | 12,843 | 5,338 | 6,179 | 544,420 | 24.9 | 35.00 |
| 1894 | 15,858 | 6,512 | 6,128 | 529,161 | 24.2 | 33.53 |
| 1895 | 14,463 | 6,017 | 4,950 | 453,950 | 20.3 | 29.58 |
| 1896 | 12,634 | 5,213 | 4,520 | 434,759 | 16.5 | 24.10 |
| 1897 | 15,066 | 4,374 | 4,444 | 413,351 | 17.9 | 28.82 |

The question will naturally arise in the minds of my readers, Does the law as you have stated it really represent the actual practice? To this I can only reply, that during the three years spent by me in observing the actual working of the system on the estates in British Guiana I was convinced that the law is completely operative.

But it must not be supposed that the protection of the immigrants' interests ends with the administration of the law, as I have described it. An additional safeguard exists in the power of the Immigration Agent General to refuse a supply of indentured laborers to any estate for any cause which may seem to him sufficient. As an evidence of the manner in which this power is exerted I may instance the custom of the Immigration Department in regard to persons connected with the management of estates who are convicted of assault against indentured immigrants, or of interfering with the wife of an indentured immigrant, or any indentured female.

If an overseer is convicted of any of these offences, the Immigration Agent General demands the dismissal of the man from the estate, and in addition sends a notice to all estates where there are indentured laborers, cautioning the managers against employing the man. The managers are bound to obey the Immigration Agent General, for their failure to do so would involve the cutting off of their labor supply. I have known two instances in which such a demand was made in respect of an overseer's conviction of an offence against an indentured immigrant; and in each case the man was practically shut out of further

employment on any estate in the colony, certainly from employment on any estate where there were indentured immigrants.

I have described the system of indentured labor as it exists in British Guiana. In the other British colonies where indentured labor is used the law and practice are in the main similar to what I have detailed above. In some colonies no doubt the administration of the law is not as excellent as in British Guiana, but the fact that the system is so admirably conducted in British Guiana shows that the thing is possible.

The following quotation from the *Madras Weekly Mail*, of October 10, 1874, voices a sentiment which is very general in the colonies employing indentured labor, that is, that the state protection of the indentured immigrant is carried beyond the bounds of reason—that the indentured immigrants form, in fact, a privileged class.

"Now even supposing this report (a report relating to indentured immigrants in the Island of Trinidad) to color too highly—even allowing a liberal percentage of embellishment—is it not plain that the coolie who is fortunate enough to emigrate to Trinidad is placed in an unduly favorable position? Is it not wrong, from the standpoint both of morals and political economy, to

aggrandize a class in this fashion? We are far from wishing state protection to be withdrawn from immigrants, and thoroughly approve both of the humane provision of looking after the coolie when sick, and fixing a minimum wage. Were it not for such precautions, abuses would soon creep in, and the Indian immigrant would become a second Uncle Tom. But there is a limit to everything, and the limit in this instance is pushed beyond the bounds of reason. There is not a poor man in England with a tithe of the advantages open to him that are placed at these coolies' feet. To take an ordinary day laborer and set him down in a congenial climate with the certainty of becoming rich with the most ordinary care and industry, to keep him in good health, and to offer him the whole arena of education gratis for his children, is, we say, absurd."

I quote the above passage, not because I entirely agree with the sentiments expressed in it, but for the purpose of showing that unprejudiced observers, entirely removed from local influence, have seen in the system of indentured labor as it exists in some of the British colonies not a system of slavery, but one of over-protection.

## Summary

Following the emancipation of the slaves in the British colonies, and as a direct consequence of the sudden change in the relations between employer and laborer, many estates in the British tropical colonies fell out of cultivation, and the owners were ruined.

From the time of emancipation onward, the British tropical colonies can be divided into three classes. (1) Those which have adopted the plan of importing contract labor to take the place of the freed slaves. (2) Those in which the pressure of population is great enough to insure a steady and reliable labor supply. (3) Those in which there is no pressure of population and no organized labor system.

For the purpose of our inquiry we have selected four colonies of each class — British Guiana, Mauritius, Trinidad, and Jamaica of the first class; Barbados, St. Kitts-Nevis, Antigua, and Grenada of the second class; and St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Montserrat, and Dominica of the third class. If we compare the productive efficiency of these three groups, we find that the colonies of the first class exported during the ten years 1882–91 an average of $37.38 worth of produce per head of their population; those of the second class $26.74 worth; and those of the third class $13.26 worth.

The system of imported contract labor which is in force in British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica, and Mauritius is in the main conducted on similar lines in each of those colonies; but the actual system described in this chapter is the one in force in British Guiana.

The laborers are recruited by voluntary enlistment in India. Before embarking for British Guiana the terms of the contract are explained carefully in native dialect to the laborers, and an opportunity is given each one of withdrawing at the last moment. Each laborer is given a copy of his contract, and such

terms as are contained in it are enforceable against the government of British Guiana. On arrival in the colony the immigrants are allotted to the different estates. The immigrants must work seven hours a day for five days a week. In return for this the employer must pay a minimum daily wage of $.24 to men and $.16 to women; he must supply free houses, free medical attendance, free hospital accommodation for all immigrants, and free education for the children of immigrants.

The law relating to indentured immigrants is very strict; and a special department of the government — The Immigration Department — sees to the enforcement of the law, and generally watches the interests of the immigrants.

To this department must be sent by every employer of indentured immigrants periodical returns of the most minute description showing the condition of the immigrants; and in addition to this, the law provides for the keeping on each plantation of a number of registers and permanent account books which must be open at all times to the inspection of the Immigration Agent General or his officers.

One of the most important provisions in the indentured labor law of the colony is that prohibiting all employers of indentured labor under a penalty of $100 for each offence, from selling of goods of any kind to the laborers. In addition to the ordinary safeguards of the law, the indentured laborer enjoys a very important protection from the rule of the immigration department that any person employed on an estate who may be convicted of an offence against an indentured immigrant must be dismissed, and must not be employed by any person having indentured laborers under his charge. This rule is easily enforced because the Immigration Agent General has the power to refuse a supply of laborers to any person who fails to follow the regulations of the immigration department, and no planter could survive such a refusal, as he would have to abandon his estate for want of hands to do the work.

Penal clauses are attached to the contract of indenture, both as against the planter and the immigrant, fine or imprisonment, or both being provided according to the gravity of the breach of contract. No punishment of any kind can be inflicted on an indentured immigrant except by the government authorities, after trial and conviction before a magistrate; and the immigrants have the right secured them by law to leave an estate without permission in order to lay any complaint of ill-treatment or breach of contract before the nearest magistrate or immigration agent. Magistrates are empowered to issue all process of law free of cost to any immigrant who shall furnish reasonable evidence of a just cause of complaint.

Every immigrant who remains ten years in the colony (five of which must be spent under indenture) is entitled to a passage back to his native place on payment of one-fourth of the cost of transportation in the case of males, and one-sixth in the case of females; but all immigrants who are destitute or disabled, and all wives and children of indentured immigrants, even though they themselves have never been indentured, are entitled to a free passage back to India, at the expense of the British Guiana Government. Such are the main features of the indentured labor system. Statistics dealing with some of the principal facts in regard to the system during the past twenty years are given on pages 187, 188.

# CHAPTER VI

## THE SOLUTION OF THE LABOR PROBLEM BY THE DUTCH

We have seen how England has succeeded in solving the labor problem in some of her colonies by means of imported indentured labor, how in some of them the pressure of population has produced conditions favorable to the existence of a steady labor supply and how in others the land is lying idle for want of hands to do the work.

It remains only to consider the means adopted by the Dutch to overcome the natural disinclination of the man in the tropics for manual labor. Students of economics are familiar in a general way with the Dutch "culture-system" as it existed in Java; but little attention has been paid to the working details of the system, for during the past twenty-five years its rigor has been abated owing to an unfavorable public sentiment in Holland, and in consequence the peculiar conditions which it created are slowly disappearing. Any account of the labor problem in the tropics

which failed to include a description of the "culture-system" would, however, be incomplete, and the present chapter is therefore devoted to a somewhat minute examination of a system which, alternately the subject of the highest praise and the most severe censure, presents one of the most interesting phenomena of tropical colonization.

The first Dutch settlement in Java was made in the year 1595, but it was not until 1621 that the first important town, Batavia, was founded. The affairs of the island were administered up to the beginning of the nineteenth century by a chartered company called the Dutch East India Company. The policy pursued by the company was of the narrowest kind. Commerce was hampered by restrictive regulations which forbade the natives to trade in coffee, opium, timber, salt, pepper, tin, spices, and other commodities the monopoly of which lay with the Company, and the population of the island was for the most part discouraged from all enterprise or progress.

As a result of the policy pursued by the Company Java was, at the beginning of the present century, in a most unsatisfactory condition. The Company was practically bankrupt, being in debt to the amount of $45,000,000. The Dutch government dissolved the Company and appointed a

Commission to examine and report on the condition of the island. This Commission failed to effect reforms, as also did a second Commission appointed in 1803. We may conveniently commence our inquiry into the labor conditions of Java with the year 1808, the year in which the Government of Holland sent out Marshal Daendels, equipped with all the powers of a viceroy, to effect a thorough reorganization of the colonial administration.

The conditions with which Marshal Daendels had to contend were peculiar. The whole economy of the island depended on the native system of land-tenure, and it was by mastering the details of this system and then utilizing it for administrative purposes that Marshal Daendels achieved that measure of success which saved the island from absolute ruin and at the same time earned for him the title of "the Iron Marshal."

The land-tenure system of Java has been concisely described by Mr. Henry Scott Boys, late of the Bengal Civil Service, in his little volume, "Some Notes on Java and Its Administration by the Dutch," and the subject has been treated at some length by Sir Stamford Raffles, British Administrator of Java, from 1811 to 1816, in his

"History of Java," and by J. W. B. Money in his "Java; or, How to manage a Colony."

The local sovereigns had always been recognized without dispute as the absolute owners of the soil, and all occupation of land derived its sanction from the consent of the sovereign. Thus, except in a few instances which will be dealt with later, every person in Java was, in fact, a tenant of a native chief. Sir Stamford Raffles writes: "Generally speaking, no proprietary right in the soil is vested in any one between the cultivator and the sovereign, the intermediate classes, who may at any time have enjoyed the revenues of villages or districts, being deemed the executive officers of the government who received these revenues as a gift from their lord, and who depended on his will alone for their tenure."

In each Javanese community the land was divided into portions, and an allotment was made to every family or individual as circumstances might direct. From time to time, usually from year to year, the occupants of each portion were changed, the land thus circulating amongst the villagers. In regard to cultivation the following rule was observed, with local variations: Suppose the crop of a given quantity of land con-

sisted of sixty parts, one-sixth was deducted for cultivation and reaping and this was paid to the occupier of the land; of the remaining fifty parts two were paid to the village priest, and the remaining forty-eight parts were divided equally between the sovereign or his local representative and the cultivator. The result, therefore, of the division of a crop of sixty tons of rice would be as follows: thirty-four tons to the cultivator, two tons to the priest, and twenty-four tons to the sovereign. It may be considered that the share paid to the sovereign represented the rent of the land.

An additional power rested with the representative of the sovereign, in that he could compel the cultivator to sell out his share of the crop at the ruling price.

Under such a system there were no sales of land either as between cultivators or between the sovereign and the cultivators, nor was there any inheritance of rights in the land except in so far as the sovereign and his successors were concerned.

It would appear that this system was open to great abuses; but, as a matter of fact, the local representatives of the sovereign were deterred from an unjust exercise of their powers by a very

powerful consideration. As the salaries of the representatives were always paid on the basis of a share in the crop, it was to the obvious interest of each that the crop should be as large as possible, and as any act of tyranny was followed by a general migration from one district to another, a regent might find himself deserted by his cultivators, in which case not only would his income fall off, but he would most certainly be dismissed by the sovereign, whose interests would suffer from the abandonment of the land.

There were only three exceptions to the rule by which all proprietary rights were vested in the sovereign. The first was in the case of fruit trees, which by custom were considered the permanent property of the person who planted and tended them; the second exception was the "gaga" lands, that is to say, lands cleared from forest or reclaimed from the wilderness by the cultivator, such lands (small in extent) becoming the property of the cultivator.

Apart from these, Mr. Boys says in his "Notes on Java": "The only exceptions to the general rule, which excluded the idea of individual right in landed property, are to be found in the mountainous and wooded tracts occupied by the Sundas in the west of the island, where private property

is established and the holder's interest is transferable. This right has doubtless arisen in these tracts from the necessity of offering superior inducements to the reclaimers of such lands to settle in those parts, and it may be compared to the rights acquired by ryots in India, who, under clearing grants, felled the dense forests of the Terai tracts."

An important feature of the land-tenure system in Java was the corvée, or the liability of the people to render a certain amount of unpaid service to the local sovereign in each year. The quantity of free labor claimed by the sovereign varied at different times and in different parts of the island, but generally ranged between fifty and seventy-five days in the year. Marshal Daendels placed the system of corvée on a sound basis, and effected a thorough organization of the unpaid labor throughout the island. By means of it he covered the island with roads not to be excelled even at the present day. The roads consisted of two parallel avenues, one reserved for heavy loads and beasts of burden, the other for passenger traffic and pedestrians, and each avenue was sufficiently wide to admit of three carriages driving abreast. But whilst Daendels was thus opening up the country and rendering it acces-

sible from all the considerable trading posts, he also laid the foundation of the culture-system which was to achieve such extraordinary results under his successor, General van den Bosch.

He classified all the villages of the island according to the nature of the land surrounding them, — the number of inhabitants, the available water supply, and so forth, — and then fixed for each village the number of coffee trees to be planted each year. As soon as the coffee trees came into bearing, the annual crop was to be divided into five parts, of which two were to go to the government and three were to remain the property of the cultivator.

Before the system came into working order, however, the English seized the island and held it for six years, 1811–16. Sir Stamford Raffles was made Lieutenant-Governor of the island, and immediately set to work to stamp out the very principles on which the social and economical conditions of the country had rested. He abolished the corvée, all the Dutch monopolies, the restrictions on trade, and all the sovereign rights of the native princes. The peasants were given proprietary rights in the soil they cultivated, and complete political and commercial liberty was established.

An inquiry was instituted into the nature of the respective rights in the soil of the cultivators and the native princes, and it was found that seven-tenths of the land was the absolute property of the government. Before the reforms effected by Sir Stamford Raffles had time to bear any fruit the island passed again into the hands of the Dutch. A longer English occupation of the island would have enabled us to form some opinion as to the comparative merits of the Dutch and British systems as applied to Java; as it is, we can only compare the condition of India to-day, under a system similar to that adopted by Sir Stamford Raffles in Java, with the condition of Java to-day under a system not greatly dissimilar from that adopted by the Dutch in 1816, after the restoration of the island to Holland. This comparison is made at the end of the chapter.

From 1816 to 1830 Java was in a disturbed state; but in the latter year, with the successful conclusion of the war against a native prince named Dipa Negara, the Dutch authority became firmly established. In 1830 General Count Johannes van den Bosch was sent out by the Dutch government as Governor-General of Java. It was Van den Bosch who took up the work

commenced by Marshal Daendels, carried it to the point of perfection, and thus converted the island from a continual source of expense into the most profitable colony owned at any time by any nation.

For the following description of the "culture-system" of General van den Bosch I am indebted to Money's "Java; or, How to manage a Colony."

The general principles on which the "culture-system" was founded were as follows: It was to afford an ample profit to the cultivator, so that his interest in the success of the scheme might be assured; it was to give a fair profit to the manufacturer or middle man, who acted as a commercial agent of the government; the support of the officials was to be insured by the payment of a percentage; the government revenue was to be increased, not only by the small direct profit on the culture, but by the improvement in the means of the tax-payers.

The terms offered by the government to the European colonists were very liberal. Every man who would undertake the erection and subsequent superintendence of a factory was placed under government supervision. These men were known as "contractors," and each contractor was credited in the books of a branch of the adminis-

tration with the amount deemed necessary by the government for the erection of the factory. This sum varied with local conditions, but was roughly about $45,000. The building advance was made for twelve years, without interest, and was payable by instalments of one-tenth in the third and in each succeeding year. It was applied by the contractor, under government superintendence, in building his factory, in bringing water to it as a motive power, and in buying and importing from Europe the proper machinery. The government further assisted the contractor by placing at his disposal for the first two years a supply of the free labor furnished to the government by the neighboring peasants. A special department of the government was created which assisted in procuring the machinery from Europe, gave the contractors advice and information, and supplied them with the best works relating to their respective manufactures. The government undertook that by the time a mill was ready to work, the surrounding villages should have a sufficient area planted with the crop to be reaped, — sugar, coffee, spices, or whatever it might be. The government was to advance yearly to the contractor the sum of money necessary for the purchase of the raw material from the cultivators. This

method of separating the cultivation and the manufacture calls to mind the efforts which have been made from time to time in the West Indies to establish a system of cane-farming by small proprietors. But the attempts at cane-farming in the West Indies have had a very limited success, from the fact that in the absence of stringent regulations no reliance can be placed on the cultivators. In Java the government stood behind the cultivator and saw to it that a full supply of raw material was forthcoming.

The system of General van den Bosch was introduced gradually. The Crown villages, whose situation and soil seemed best adapted for the success of the enterprise, were selected first. During the building of the mill the government superintendent was employed in making himself acquainted with the number of the neighboring government cottiers, and in examining the village lands suited to the proposed crop. The amount of land required to be under rice, to provide for the wants of the surrounding population, was ascertained. The people were told that this amount of rice land should never be intruded on; and they were further shown the pecuniary advantages to be derived from the culture-system, without additional labor for taxation. They were

then ordered to plant one-fifth of their land with the contractor's crop. As it had always been the custom in Java for the landlord to direct the cultivation of his tenants' lands, the villagers saw nothing either tyrannical or intrusive in this order.

General van den Bosch carefully analyzed the popular household institutions of the Javanese, of the well-known old patriarchal character which has always marked the early stages of society in the East. The idle disposition of the natives was taken into consideration, and the culture-system was based, not on an improvement, but on the recognition of that factor. A village which set apart one-fifth of its rice fields for the cultivation of a crop suited to the market of Europe was to be exempted from the payment of land rent, and was to receive a considerable share of any profits which resulted from the sale of the crop. Bad crops were to be at the risk of the government, in so far, at least, as these should not be owing to want of zeal and labor on the part of the Javanese. In apportioning the work on the village plantations, a theoretical standard was fixed as the work of one man, and four men were then made responsible for the result. Thus there was no extreme task allotted, and it required

little evidence to prove that the system was really an advantage to the people themselves.

The relations between the European contractor and the native cultivators were carefully regulated, so as to protect the native from force and the European from fraud. Large opportunity and every security and assistance were given to all Europeans seeking wealth by developing the resources of the soil. Certain limits were, however, imposed. Thus no European was allowed to foist his own terms on the natives, or to use his superior strength, knowledge, or capacity to gain advantages at the expense of the natives' interests. On the other hand the government, strong in its determination to protect the natives from hardship, insisted that the small amount of work given out as each man's portion should be done, and those who persisted in idling were punished. As a matter of fact, however, the advantages to be reaped from the system were so patent that in each village the great majority of the people were in favor of getting the work done, and, as a result, idling was not encouraged, and the government seldom had cause to interfere.

The results of General van den Bosch's policy in Java are thus summarized by Mr. Money, in his "Java; or, How to manage a Colony." The

revenue raised from 24 millions of florins, equal to 2 millions sterling, to 115 millions of florins, equal to 9½ millions sterling. Instead of the former yearly deficit, a yearly net surplus of upwards of 45 millions of florins, equal to 3¾ millions sterling, out of a gross revenue of 9½ millions sterling. The net surplus revenue paid to Holland exceeded the principal and interest both of the old debt and of all advances on account of the culture-system. The unproductive expenditure for the administration of the country raised from about 2 millions sterling to about 3 millions sterling, with a corresponding increase in the number and efficiency of the public servants. The reproductive expenditure on public works, and in developing the resources of the country raised from a mere trifle to over 2 millions sterling, annually. The imports raised from a yearly average of about 1⅔ millions sterling to over 5 millions sterling. The exports raised from a yearly average of about 2 millions sterling to over 8 millions sterling. Crime and litigation so diminished that the judicial sittings of the local courts were reduced to an average of about thirty days in the year. The population raised in twenty-five years from about 6 millions in poverty, paying a revenue of about 2 millions sterling, or 6 shillings

and 8 pence per head, to 11 millions of the richest peasantry in the East, paying a revenue of 9 millions sterling, or 16 shillings and 6 pence per head.

From 1871 the rigor of the culture-system has been gradually abated, and at the present time the greater portion of the trade of Java rests in the hands of private individuals or companies. The forced labor has given way to money taxes of various kinds, the most important of which are the poll-tax and the verponding, this latter being a tax on the value of house property and industrial plant.

The abandonment of the culture-system has been followed by a serious falling off in the revenue of the colony, and from 1876 down to the present time, Java has failed to pay its expenses from its revenue. How great this change has been will be readily understood from the fact that from 1831 to 1875, Java yielded surplus revenue to the total sum of over 700,000,000 florins (about $280,000,000), a very large proportion of which was paid into the Dutch Treasury, whilst from 1876 to 1898 there has been almost invariably a yearly deficit.

During the past five years this deficit has been: —

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1894 . . . . | 10,000,000 | guilders | = $4,000,000 |
| 1895 . . . . | 8,000,000 | " | = 3,200,000 |
| 1896 . . . . | 12,000,000 | " | = 4,800,000 |
| 1897 . . . . | 19,000,000 | " | = 7,600,000 |
| 1898 . . . . | 15,000,000 | " | = 6,000,000 |

During the past twenty years there has been no considerable increase in the exports of Java, although the falling off in the government exports has been a little more than compensated for by the increase in private exports. That there has been no decrease in the total exports is due in a large measure to the fact that the pressure of population in the island has insured a fairly good labor supply. The density of the population has increased rapidly since 1872, as will be seen from the following figures:—

| | Total population. | To the square mile. |
|---|---|---|
| 1872 . . . . . | 17,000,000 | 340 |
| 1898 . . . . . | 26,000,000 | 520 |

Although the culture-system is practically abolished, its effects remain. Mr. Henry Scott Boys, late of the Bengal Civil Service, visited Java in 1889, and has recorded his impressions of the island in a little volume published in 1892 at Allahabad. Himself a trained and experienced administrator under the British government, familiar with the condition of the laboring classes

in India, Mr. Boys's opinions are worthy of serious consideration. I conclude this chapter by quoting from his "Some Notes on Java and its Administration by the Dutch."

"But when all is said against the culture-system, it must still be admitted that the cultivating class in Java is distinctly well-to-do. The evidence to be drawn from a personal view of the rural population in their prosperous villages is decisive on this point; and the only conclusion to which we can come is that the extraordinary fertility of the soil and the entire absence of the landlord and middleman, enable the Javan peasant to bear up and even thrive under a system which violates in many ways our Western principles of justice and fair dealing, and which, unless it is most vigilantly supervised and directed, is capable of working ruin to the one who is unable to raise his voice on the subject. . . . From the slight sketch of Java and its institutions which has been given it will have been seen how different are the methods of government adopted by Holland and England in their administration of their Oriental possessions. We strive our very best to rule India in the interest of the native population. The Dutch do not profess to study the well-being of their Javan subjects, save as an

object secondary to their own advantage. England expends the whole of her enormous revenue in India and sends not a rupee westwards, save for goods purchased, while Holland receives ordinarily from Java, as pure tribute, more than one-third of her colony's income. We lay ourselves out to give every Indian who cares to come forward for it what is practically a free education right up to the Universities which we have established, and still continue to establish, all over India: Holland of set purpose keeps its Eastern subjects as stupid and ignorant as possible.[1] We are scrupulously exact in all our dealings with the natives, insisting on a full wage being paid for all work done, and checking, by all the means in our power, the tendency of all natives in authority to compel labor, while the Dutch have no hesitation in utilizing to the full this tendency and practically draw from this source a large portion of their revenue. The English protect all rights in land, however shadowy they may be, and confer others: the Dutch admit no such rights and studiously avoid the introduction of the proprietary principle. We persist in

[1] An improvement has taken place in this respect. In 1896 there were in Java 205 government schools for natives, with 37,000 pupils. The government spent in 1896 about $500,000 on the education of the natives.

impressing on the native mind that the Western and the Oriental, the heir of Europe's civilization and the successor to Eastern conservatism, are all equal and equally fitted for, and capable of, understanding and of profiting by those social institutions and forms of government to which we ourselves are so attached: the Dutch frankly deny the equality and ridicule the notion that all the world should be ruled on the same principle.

"To the Anglo-Indian visiting Java and viewing these great differences, it is somewhat humiliating to feel that the Dutch have most unquestionably, in one point at any rate, succeeded where we have partially failed. Conscious of the absolutely upright intentions of his own government, and convinced that it is the first wish of every English official connected with the administration that all classes should share in the blessings which should flow from its benevolent measures, he is startled to find the great mass of agriculturalists in Java manifestly in a far better material condition than our own ryots. This is unquestionably the case, and the fact undoubtedly proves that our treatment of the great questions relating to land tenures, which a hundred years ago were partly similar to those which have from time to time arisen in Java, have not

been dealt with in the manner best calculated to secure the happiness of the people. The denationalization of the land, which, from the time of Lord Cornwallis till the present day, has been more and more completely effected, has resulted in the aggrandizement of a class of wealthy landlords and middlemen at the expense of the cultivator of the soil, and we have surrendered that splendid position as owners of the land which enables the Dutch to appropriate for state purposes the whole rental of the country, and to insure that that rental shall always be so moderate in amount as to enable the peasant to pass his days in comfort and without care. Doubtless Holland would do well to treat her rich dependency in a more generous, more unselfish spirit, and in many points she could undoubtedly take lessons from England; but the impartial student of the economics of the Eastern possessions of the two countries will certainly come also to the conclusion that India has much to learn from Java."

SUMMARY

The labor problem in Java was solved by the culture-system, introduced by Marshal Daendels in 1808, perfected by General Count Johannes van den Bosch, and gradually relaxed since 1871 by the Dutch government.

The general principles of the culture-system were these. All land belonged to the government, and was given out for cultivation on the condition that of all produce four-fifteenths should be paid to the government. A class of Europeans known as "contractors" were encouraged by the government, by means of loans, to build factories and storehouses for the gathering and handling of the crops — chiefly sugar, coffee, and spices.

Behind this system lay the corvée or liability of the people to render a certain amount of free service to the government in each year. The amount of such service varied between fifty and seventy-five days a year.

By utilizing this forced labor the Dutch covered the island with excellent roads and erected handsome public edifices.

The effects of the system were most striking, a remarkable increase taking place in the production, revenue, and imports of the island, and a corresponding improvement in the material conditions of the peasantry.

From 1871 onward the rigor of the system was relaxed, and in recent years taxes have been substituted for the corvée and the land has been thrown open to private enterprise. During the past five years the island, which formerly yielded a handsome annual profit to Holland, has had to face a yearly deficit averaging about $5,000,000.

The condition of the agricultural classes in Java compares very favorably with that of the same classes in India; and this has been attributed by writers to the fact that under the Dutch system there exist no landlords and middlemen to send up the rental of land.

# CHAPTER VII

## THE COLONIAL PROBLEM OF THE UNITED STATES

In the general treatment of my subject, and under the limitations which I imposed on my inquiry, reference to Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines was unnecessary, as their special conditions do not furnish us with material affecting in any way the broad facts which have passed under our notice.

But if there was no reason why argument should be specially led *from* the conditions of these islands to the general subject, there is some justification for leading argument *to* these islands from the general facts of tropical colonization.

If we look at the colonial problem of the United States in the light of the facts exhibited in this volume, we shall readily perceive that each of the colonies stands by itself in so far as natural, commercial, and political conditions are concerned.

First, as regards the governmental problem. The administration of Hawaii should present few difficulties. The island has for many years been

subjected to the American influence; the inhabitants have largely adopted American manners and customs; the prosperity of the island is due almost entirely to American enterprise; and no other foreign nation has established a connection with the island sufficiently important to rival that of the United States. The native mind has been familiar for years with the idea of annexation to the United States.

In the matter of education, Hawaii might serve as a model to the world. Nowhere is there a more excellent system of public schools; in few countries, either within or without the tropics, is the percentage of illiterates so small. Of all tropical countries Hawaii is the least unpromising one in which to attempt the establishment of a more or less representative government.

It would appear that, with a judicious limitation of the franchise, the people of Hawaii might be immediately invested with as great a degree of self-government as is enjoyed by the British tropical colonies having representative institutions without responsible government; and there would be a reasonable expectation that the results might be as favorable as those which have attended such a system in Barbados.

In Puerto Rico the conditions are less favor-

able. The island has been for centuries under the rule of a nation whose political ideas and methods are fundamentally different from those of the American people. Instead of a native population used to American ways, familiar with American institutions, dependent on American capital, there is here a people with a very large admixture of Spanish blood, strongly affected both by custom and heredity toward Spanish methods, speaking the Spanish language, and with all the profound conservatism which, as far as manners and customs are concerned, so distinctively belongs to the Spanish peasantry.

According to the census returns of 1887, which are the latest available, the population of the island was 806,708, and of these 695,328, or more than 85%, could neither read or write.

There seems little material here for representative institutions. What a hundred years of American occupation may produce it is impossible to tell, for it is much easier to impress a new nationality on natives who have never learned to adopt any Western civilization (like the natives of Hawaii a hundred years ago), than to erect a new standard of existence among a people who have been absorbing a European nationality for centuries. In one case you have only to

teach, in the other you must first eradicate all that has been taught from the beginning.

In Puerto Rico, leaving out of the question any lengthened military occupation, the English Crown colony system, or a system modelled on similar lines, should prove the most satisfactory form of government, combining as it does strong home control with considerable deference to local opinion.

The governmental problem in the Philippines is infinitely complex. A thousand islands with twice a thousand tribes, many tongues, many religions, a climate unsuited, for the most part, to Europeans, and to the seat of the trouble an eight thousand mile trail; these are some of the factors of the Philippine situation.

The population of the islands has been variously estimated, but is probably between 7,000,000 and 9,000,000. To say that five per cent of the people can read or write would be the grossest flattery. Taken as a whole the population is law-abiding and peaceful under normal conditions; but there is a disturbing element. Nothing can be more unpromising, from the standpoint of a Western government, than a population ninety-nine hundredths of which is deeply ignorant, grossly superstitious, and highly sensitive to native tradition, and of which the remaining one

hundredth is well educated, well versed in native customs, familiar with the native dialects and possessed of the exquisite subtlety of the Oriental mind.

To predict ultimate failure for the United States in the Philippines would be to blind oneself to the great qualities of the American people; to predict any immediate success would be to close one's eyes to the grave difficulties to be faced and to credit the American system of government with an elasticity and adaptability which it does not possess. I have encountered a feeling in the United States which, if it is widespread (and of this I have no means of judging), will postpone the day of success in the Philippines. This feeling is summed up in the following remark made to me by an American gentleman of distinguished ability: "After all, the experience of other nations in the tropics is of little value to us, for none of the other people were Americans."

The commercial problem in the American colonies is almost entirely comprised in the one question of labor. We have seen that England can only sell her tropical subjects seventy-one cents' worth of goods each a year, and that she draws from each only sixty-six cents' worth of supplies.

These sums represent the result of a century's work in increasing the purchasing power and the productive power of the people in the British tropical colonies. In view of this, what are the hopes of the American business man?

A colony cannot buy goods until it produces goods for sale. The question therefore is, What is to be the productive efficiency of the American colonies?

In Chapter V. I have dealt at some length with the system of indentured labor in force in the British colonies. It is within the knowledge of every one that Hawaii, one of the most productive islands in the tropics, possibly the most productive, has been brought to its present state of efficiency through the importation of contract laborers. We read every week of the importation of hundreds of these contract laborers, in anticipation of the supply being cut off by an application of the United States laws in the island. If this is done, it is not difficult to foresee the results. The American laborer, in whose interest the contract labor laws of the United States were passed, cannot go out to Hawaii and work in the cane-fields. If he were able to do so, the planters could not pay him an American wage unless the price of sugar was greatly in-

creased. With sugar at its present price cheap labor is absolutely necessary.

The sugar problem is not one very easy of solution.

Granting a labor supply in Puerto Rico and Hawaii, what is to be the status of American colonial sugar in the United States? Will a hostile tariff be erected against it? If not, what is to become of the Louisiana sugar-planter, the Nebraska and California beet-grower, of the immense revenue derived from the duty on imported sugar?

Puerto Rico is more promising in the matter of natural labor supply than the Philippines. The population of Puerto Rico is largely Spanish. The census of 1887 showed 480,000 whites, 248,000 colored, and 78,000 blacks.

There is some hope here. The white man can be more readily brought to desire an improvement in his material condition than the black man; he can, therefore, be more readily made to work. But love of work does not characterize the white men in the tropics. Mr. Robert T. Hill in his "Cuba and Porto Rico with the other Islands of the West Indies" says of the Puerto Rican peasants: —

"Although indolent, they are sagacious, and

skilful in conversation, fond of eating and drinking, and free in their customs, manners, and morals, as judged by our standard. The poorest gives his best to the passing stranger. They are not disposed to continuous labor, however; nor is this necessary in so prolific a land. Without much ambition or thought for the future, they are content to live for the passing to-day."

Puerto Rico is fairly thickly inhabited, and with the enclosure of estates and the absorbtion of the waste lands, it will not be many years before the pressure of population will insure a fair labor supply.

In the Philippine Islands, as in Puerto Rico, the mass of the people do not work hard, because there is no need to do so. Professor Dean C. Worcester in his "The Philippine Islands" says of the natives: "Nature has done so much for her children in these islands that they have no need to labor hard in order to supply their few and simple wants. . . . Their laziness might be remedied by increasing their necessities."

The following quotation from an article contributed by me to the February, 1899, number of Appleton's *Popular Science Monthly* will serve to show the peculiar nature of the labor problem in Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines: —

"The development of the tropics will be in the direction of agriculture rather than manufacturing, and the requirements of tropical agriculture in respect of labor are most arbitrary. It is not sufficient that the labor supply is ample, in the ordinary sense of the word; it must be at all times immediately available.

"Thus, a mine-owner whose men go out on strike is, briefly, placed in this position: He will lose a sum of money somewhat larger than the amount of profit he could have made during the period of the strike had it not occurred. His coal, however, is still there, and is not less valuable — indeed, in the case of a prolonged strike, may actually be more valuable — when the strike is over; work can easily be resumed where it was dropped, and during the idle days the ordinary running expenses of the mine cease. The greater part of the loss sustained in the instance I have supposed is not out-of-pocket loss, but merely the failure to realize prospective profits.

"On the other hand, a sugar estate in the tropics spends about eight months out of the twelve in cultivating the crop, and the remaining four in reaping and boiling operations. By the time the crop is ready to reap many thousands of dollars have been expended on it by way of

planting, weeding, draining, and the application of nitrogenous manures. If from any cause the labor supply fails when the cutting of the canes is about to commence, every cent expended on the crop is wasted; and if for want of labor the canes which are cut are not transported within a few hours to the mills, they turn sour and cannot be made into sugar. It will thus be seen that in the case of sugar-growing a perfectly reliable labor supply is the first requisite.

"The same might be said of the cultivation of tea, coffee, cocoa, spices, and tropical fruits."

I have attempted in this chapter no minute analysis of the colonial problem of the United States. It is a fit subject for a volume from the pen of a writer more versed than myself in American affairs. My object has been merely to suggest to my readers a few points which appear to me, in the light of a long residence in the tropics, and some study, to lie on the surface of the situation.

Of this there can be no doubt, that, as with individuals, a statesman, a physician, a pianist, a lawyer, cannot be made in a day, so with nations, the ability to administer and control colonies cannot spring up in a night, but must proceed from earnest study and sincere endeavor long continued.

# APPENDIX

A BIBLIOGRAPHY of the subject of colonies and colonization which possessed any claim to completeness would make a small library. In order to give the reader some idea of the extent of colonial literature, I may mention that a bibliography of "Dutch Colonies and Colonization," published in 1886, fills three volumes of about two hundred pages each. For the convenience of students I have prepared the following brief list of works relating to colonies and colonization. The list, when considered in relation to the immense literature of the subject, is scarcely more than a faint outline; but, whilst it claims to be no more than this, it should prove of use to the handful of readers who may wish to follow a little farther the line of study suggested in the present volume.

## WORKS ON THE GENERAL SUBJECT OF COLONIES AND COLONIZATION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Amongst the annual publications which contain accurate information about the colonies of Great Britain may be mentioned The Colonial Office List, London; The Statesman's Year-Book, London and New York; and Whitaker's Almanack, London. Many of the British colonies publish Year-Books of their own.

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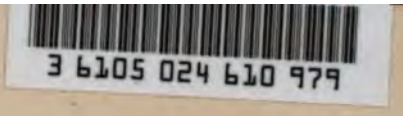
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